A SHORT HISTORY OF LEBANON



PHILIP K. HITTI

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By the same author

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HISTORY OF SYRIA, including Lebanon and Palestine

HISTORY OF THE ARABS

LEBANON IN HISTORY

SYRIA : A SHORT HISTORY

THE ARABS : A SHORT HISTORY

A SHORT HISTORY OF LEBANON

BY

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MACMILLAN

London · Melbourne · Toronto

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS

New York

1965

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1965

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY LIMITED
St Martin's Street London WC 2
also Bombay Calcutta Madras Melbourne

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA LIMITED
70 Bond Street Toronto 2

ST MARTIN'S PRESS INC
175 Fifth Avenue New York 10010 NY

Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 64–25714

ISBN 978-1-349-00568-0 ISBN 978-1-349-00566-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-00566-6

To the memory of
MY MOTHER
who, knowing no foreign language,
taught me the universal language of love
and
the memory of my teacher
EFFIE S. HARDIN
who, giving me my first lessons in
English and French, set my early steps
on the voyage of unending discovery

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PREFACE

Of the Near East states, Lebanon is in a class by itself. Its historic experience, mountainous geography and the composition of its population combine to give it an identity and a personality of its own. Democratic in politics, relatively stable in its government, free-enterprising in its economy and Western in its orientation, Lebanon holds the promise of pursuing the same course in its future career. Hence the justification for the author's devoting of a volume, *Lebanon in History* (1957, 1962), one of the first of its kind, to this subject. *A Short History of Lebanon* is based on that volume, with a special emphasis on the material on the contemporary period.

It is hoped that the reading of this book will whet the appetite of at least some for further information on the subject.

P. K. H.

March 1964

LIST OF MAPS

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Six miles north of Beirut, where the Dog River empties into the Mediterranean and the Lebanon wades in the sea to its ankle, the face of the limestone rock bears nineteen inscriptions in almost as many languages, beginning with ancient Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian, continuing through Greek and Latin and ending with English, French and Arabic. The inscriptions commemorate, at this narrow pass where native mountaineers took their decisive stand, military feats of foreign invaders. First to leave such a record was Ramses II, who battled against Hittites some thirteen centuries before Christ; then came Esarhaddon of Nineveh, and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, followed by Emperor Caracalla of the Syro-Lebanese dynasty in Rome, Sultan Salim of Constantinople, General Allenby and General Gouraud. The Arabic was carved by the Lebanese Republic commemorating the evacuation of the last French mandatory troops in December 1946. Other world figures and conquerors who could have left their *cartes de visite* in this extraordinary open-air museum were Alexander the Great, Salah-al-Din (Saladin) and Baldwin I of Crusading fame. Through the narrow window thus opened by these records we gain a glimpse of the checkered, varied, colourful history of the land styled today Lebanese Republic.

History knew Lebanon from the earliest of times and never forgot it. Perhaps no other area of comparable size, about 3977 square miles (half the size of the State of New Jersey), can match it in the volume of historical events squeezed into it and in their meaningfulness and relevance to world progress. Figuratively microscopic in size, it is literally

microcosmic in influence. Its people can rightfully claim to be beneficiaries of all ages and benefactors of many.

No such historic achievement could have been possible without certain peculiar physical features. These are the mountainous character of the land, its bordering on the Mediterranean, its strategic location in the cradle of civilization and its central position at the crossroads of the world. Lebanon lay astride the great international highway which with its ramifications linked the three historic continents. Its early people stood between the two originators of our civilization, Mesopotamians and Egyptians. The products of the ancient world, material as well as spiritual, were carried to it and transmitted from it. North-east stretched Hittite-land, early seat of Indo-European civilization. Immediately south lay Palestine, birthplace of Judaism and Christianity and closely connected with Islam, the third and last of the great monotheistic religions.

The first historic inhabitants of Lebanon were Canaanites. Canaanite culture lay at the basis of the Aramaean culture of Syria and of the Israelite of Palestine — all these being Semitic. In religion, language and literature, art and architecture, agriculture and industry the Hebrews drew heavily upon their Canaanite predecessors and neighbours. Those of the Canaanites who traded with the Greeks were named by them Phoenicians. They were the ones who passed on to the West those twenty-two magic signs called alphabet and considered among the greatest — if not the greatest — inventions of man. Meantime the alphabet worked its way eastward. Thereby were the Greeks enabled to record and bequeath their priceless literary and philosophic treasures, the Romans their enduring legal heritage, the Hebrews their immortal ethical and religious contributions and the Arabs their glorious Koran. Had those early Lebanese done nothing but that, it would have sufficed to place them among the leading benefactors of mankind.



BLACK SEA
Bosporus
Hellespont
Troy
ACHAEANS
Mycenae
AEGEAN SEA
LYDIANS
HITTITELAND
Halys River
HITTITES
Hattushash
HATTI
TAURUS MTS.
Tarsus
HURRI
MITANNI
Carchemish
Haran
Halaf
Nineveh
Lake Van
KASSITES
ASSYRIA
Ashur
Tigris
Aleppo
Ugarit
Kadesh
Palmyra
Euphrates
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Gubla
PHOENICIA
ARAM
HABIRU
Damascus
BABYLONIA
River
River
Babylon
SUMER
Megiddo
Shechem
Jerusalem
Gaza
Avaris
ARABIAN DESERT
Memphis
EGYPT
Akhetaton
(Amarna)
Nile River
Thebes
NUBIANS
RED SEA
THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250

But they did. Phoenician colonies dotted the Mediterranean basin — north and south, east and west —, served as depots for exchanging the wares of the East and of the West and as foci radiating Semitic culture. Chief among those colonies was Carthage, daughter of Tyre and contestant with Rome for mastery over the mid-Mediterranean. From these colonies mariners and traders struck westward through the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) to the "sea of darkness". Their discovery of the Atlantic Ocean ranks high on the list of their enduring contributions.

Ancient Lebanon may be loosely included in the Holy Land. The glory of the mountain, its cedars, its products were sung by prophets, poets and psalmists. In its fastnesses, hermits and saints found sanctuary. Sidonians and Tyrians journeyed to Galilee to hear Christ and benefit from his wondrous works (Mk. 3 : 8; Lk. 6 : 17). Christ's feet trod Lebanese soil (Matt. 15 : 21; Mk. 7 : 24, 31). Paul spent a week at Tyre and touched at the port of Sidon (Acts 21 : 3-4; 27 : 3). The word Bible immortalizes the name of a Lebanese town Byblus (now Jubayl).

The mountain is to Lebanon what the desert is to Arabia, the Nile to Egypt and the twin Euphrates-Tigris to Mesopotamia. It conditions its climate, diversifies its flora and fauna, hinders communication with the hinterland and indirectly encourages it with the West. Here is the only land between Morocco and Iran with no desert and no bedouin population. The mountain has, moreover, impressed its rugged character upon its inhabitants and fostered their love of freedom and self-reliance. But, while the Nile tends to unify Egypt and the Euphrates-Tigris Mesopotamia, the Lebanon with its hills and valleys tends to divide its inhabitants. City-states were the rule in Phoenicia. Self-contained nationalistic or semi-nationalistic communities prevail today. Such are the Maronites, the Druzes, the Shiites (Matawilah) and more recently the Armenians. Individual

political refugees included an early Pharaonic courtier, a medieval Mamluk sultan and contemporary Syrian and Iraqi ministers.

True mountaineers, the Lebanese in part or as a whole have through the ages resisted invasion and suppression. They have enjoyed almost always a measure of autonomy. The Arab conquest of the seventh century brought them within the political orbit of Islam, but even when the Umayyad caliphate was at its height in Damascus, Maronites exacted tribute from the caliph as a price for good behaviour. Lebanon's Christian neighbours — in Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt — all succumbed in due course to Islam the religion, but not Lebanon. It still holds a bare Christian majority. Isolated villages in its north maintained their Syriac (Aramaic) tongue to the seventeenth century. Early in the sixteenth century Ottoman Turks subdued the Arab East but left the Lebanese to their autonomy. Powerful native rulers, such as Fakhr-al-Din al-Mani (d. 1635) and Bashir al-Shihabi (d. 1850), went so far as defying the Sublime Porte and ruling almost independently. As a sequel to communal wars in 1860 Lebanon's autonomy was internationally guaranteed.

Lebanese contributions to world progress, initiated by Canaanites and Phoenicians, were continued through the Greco-Roman and Arab periods. Outstanding among names on the roster of Stoic and Neo-Platonic philosophers (to be treated later) were several of Lebanese nationality. If philosophy was the most enduring Greek legacy, law was the most enduring Roman one. To the Justinian Code professors at the school of law at Beirut made unquestionably the richest offering.

In medieval times Syro-Lebanese traders and industrialists, in the tradition of their ancestors, planted settlements in Italian, French and other European cities whence were exchanged the products of Asia and of Europe. Modern Lebanese settlements flourish at Cairo, Marseille, Paris,

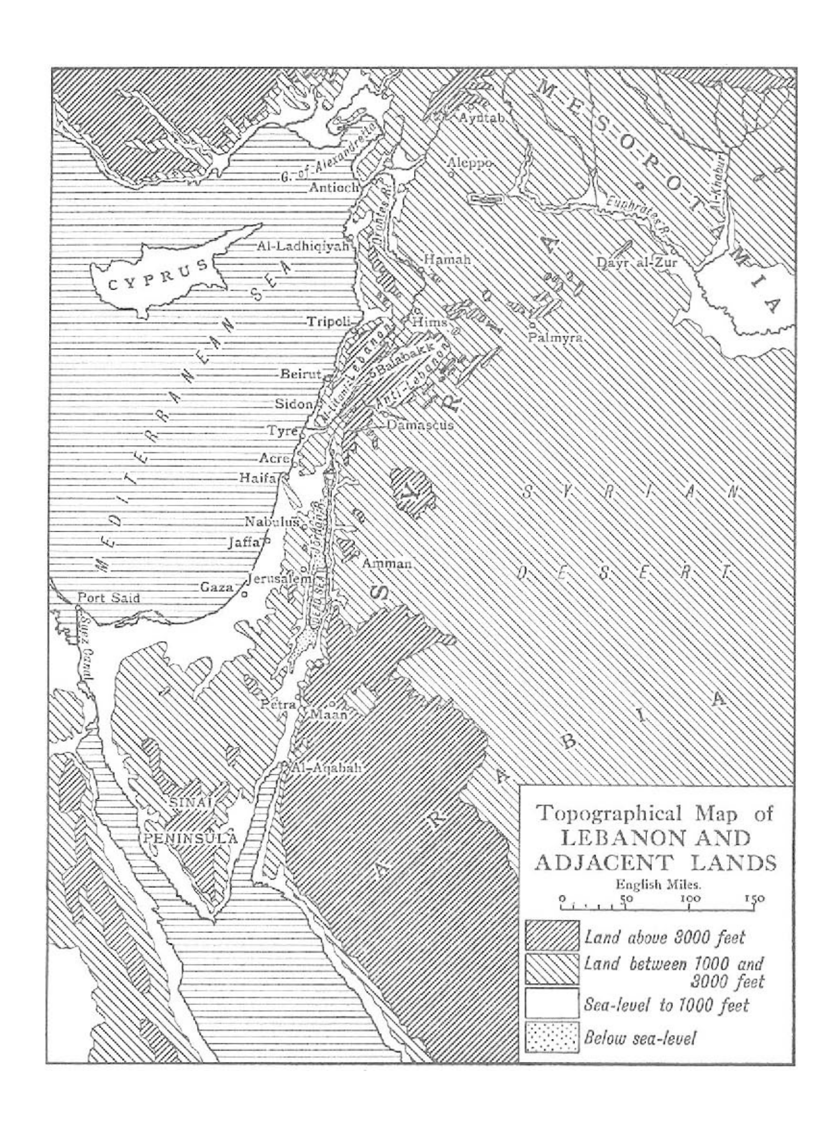
Manchester, New York, São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Sydney. Nineteenth-century Lebanese were the first among Arabic-speaking peoples to respond heartily to intellectual Western stimuli. They mediated the new acquisition to their neighbours and thereby enhanced the renaissance of the entire area. Currently they enjoy a measure of democracy and practise a system of free enterprise probably unequalled in the Near East.

Such are the features — geographic, historic, cultural and political — that make of Lebanon a distinct entity and justify its treatment as a unit by itself.

SETTING OF THE STAGE

BETWEEN the Mediterranean and Syria four longitudinal strips can be delineated: a narrow maritime plain, in places a mere ribbon; the Western Lebanon (Lebanon proper) soaring above the famous cedar grove to an alpine height of 11,024 feet above the sea; a central plateau, al-Biqa, fertile and well-irrigated; and the Eastern Lebanon culminating majestically in Mount Hermon 9383 feet above the sea. These four, as far as the watershed of the Eastern Lebanon, form the modern Lebanese Republic, constituted in 1920. This is roughly the area that forms the subject of our study.

The western range is Lebanon (Lubnan) *par excellence.* Its snow-capped peaks gave it its name, a Semitic word meaning white. It is a clearly defined chain, 105 miles in length and averaging about 35 miles wide in the north to about six in the south. The Qadisha River has its source high at the basin of the cedar grove, tumbles through a precipitous picturesque gorge and debouches near Tripoli, where it is known as abu-Ali. Its name Qadisha, meaning holy, it acquired from the numerous Maronite hermitages and monasteries that still dot its course. A few miles to the south runs the Nahr Ibrahim gorge, associated with ancient Adonis and easily the most famous of all Lebanese rivers. The Biqa plateau, sandwiched in between the two mountain ranges, is a well-cultivated undulating plain, six to ten miles in width and averaging 2500 feet in height. This is the "valley of Lebanon" of Joshua (11 : 17), the Coele (hollow)-Syria of classical writers. It owes its fertility to the Litani (Leontes), which starts near Baalbak and empties south of Sidon, where it becomes al-Qasimiyah. The most ambitious of recent Lebanese projects is an irrigation and



Topographical Map of
LEBANON AND
ADJACENT LANDS
English Miles.
0 50 100 150
Land above 3000 feet
Land between 1000 and 3000 feet
Sea-level to 1000 feet
Below sea-level
MESOPOTAMIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
SYRIAN DESERT
ARABIA
SINAI PENINSULA
G. of Alexandretta
Antioch
Aleppo
Ayntab
Euphrates R.
Al-Khabur
Orontes R.
Al-Ladhiqiyah
Hamah
Dayr al-Zur
Tripoli
Hims
Palmyra
Baalbakk
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Acre
Haifa
Nabulus
Jaffa
Amman
Jerusalem
Gaza
Port Said
Suez Canal
Dead Sea
Petra
Maan
Al-Aqabah

electro-hydraulic one inaugurated by the government in 1951 which promises to benefit a vast area in the south. The Eastern Lebanon (Lubnan al-Sharqi, Anti-Lebanon) runs parallel to the western range; its Mount Hermon is the second highest peak in the land. This entire range is drier, less productive and more thinly populated than its twin sister to the west. A majestic, noble peak, Hermon is most easily distinguished at a distance. Its name, meaning sacred, recalls its dedication to Baal Hermon, whose cult persisted after biblical days. Hermon figured in the Old Testament under different names (Deut. 3 : 9; Cant. 4 : 8) and is appropriately called in Arabic al-Jabal al-Shaykh (the grey-haired mount). Turbaned with snow from which white furrows follow the depressions that channel its surface, it dominates the scene from north Palestine as well as from south Lebanon and Syria and supplies the Jordan with its springs.

Both Lebanons comprise an upper and a lower limestone series with an intermediate sandstone one. Fossil fish, first reported in a biography of Louis IX (Saint Louis), the celebrated mid-thirteenth-century Crusader, date the birth certificate of the mountain some 80,000,000 years ago. This makes it a relatively young mountain, as mountain ages go. The erosion of the upper limestone strata has in course of time provided the soil for agriculture; its stones furnished the building material for the inhabitants. Through these layers rain water has perennially seeped to the complex of sands and clay to generate those sparkling gushing springs that distinguish Lebanon and distribute their life contents on slopes, plains and valleys.

The Lebanese landscape is generally considered one of the most gorgeous in the world. The scenery draws its distinction from the clarity of the sky, the remoteness of the horizon and the lucidity of the atmosphere, rendering the outline and colour of its physical features sharply perceived. Its beauty has never ceased to exercise charm upon bards and poets

from Hebrew to present days. Lebanese emigrant writers in Europe, Africa, North and South America never tire of singing the glory of their Switzerland.

The dominant feature of Lebanese climate is an alternation of rainy season from mid-November to the end of March and a dry season through the rest of the year. Maritime winds originating in the Atlantic are the moisture-bearing ones which reach Lebanon late in autumn. As these westerlies hit the western range they unload their precious cargo, leaving the hinterland progressively dry. The coastline surprisingly receives an average annual rainfall of 33 inches, twice as much as the corresponding coast of southern California. The western slopes get enough rain to make them one of the most productive and most thickly populated areas of their kind in the East. Starting at an elevation of about 1800 feet, villages provide such a salubrious and relatively mild climate as to attract summer resorters from as far as Iran and southern Egypt. No small part of the national income is derived from that source. Behind the double-rain barrier of the Lebanons, Damascus gets only 10 inches of average annual rain.

The prevailing summer winds of Lebanon are happily not those hot dry ones from the equatorial regions but the north-westerlies whose temperature is moderated still further by the influence of the sea along the littoral. Neighbouring countries suffer more from those oppressively warm south-east winds, often sand-laden, called sirocco (*sharqiyah*, easterlies), which occasionally in spring visit the entire region. In July, normally the hottest month of the year, the daily average maximum in Beirut is 87° F., in Damascus, only fifty miles east but less humid, 96° F.

The elevation of the Lebanon and the diversity of its soil and terrain combine with its multiform climate to provide opportunities for the growth of a larger number of species and

varieties of plants than any other area of comparable size. Especially plentiful in the past were hardwood trees, but today fruit trees form a main source of national revenue. Quickly flowering, strongly scented spring plants made the "smell of Lebanon" proverbial to Old Testament poets and prophets (Cant. 4 : 11 ; Hos. 14 : 6). Closely associated with Lebanon among the useful plants is the olive tree, mentioned first in a Phoenician inscription of the fifteenth pre-Christian century. The olive is one of those trees that live long, demand little and yield much. Its fruit is a staple on the table of low classes. Its oil takes the place of butter in kitchen economy and is used as ointment and for burning lamps. The pulp of the crushed fruit is feed for animals and the crushed pits fuel for cooking.

If the olive has been the most useful of Lebanese trees, the cedar has been the most celebrated. Once both Lebanons were thickly wooded, with the cedar as a dominant figure. This patriarch of the Lebanese forests provided Solomon with construction timber for his temple (1 K. 5 : 2-10) and the Phoenicians for their seafaring ships. According to the psalmist (104 : 16) the Lord planted the cedars of Lebanon, a fact with which modern Lebanese agree, styling their trees *arz al-Rabb* (the cedars of the Lord). Only a few cedar groves have survived the axe of the builder and the fuel seeker and the teeth of the goats. Of the three groves the one in north Lebanon, lying in the lap of the highest peak and comprising about twenty trees more than four hundred years old, is the best known and most frequented. Skiing nearby is a favourite new sport. A tree in this grove figures on the Lebanese Republic flag and coins. Edward Pococke, the first professor of Arabic at Oxford University, is credited with introducing (*ca.* 1636) the first Lebanese cedar and fig tree into England. From England a few trees were taken into the United States. Arabs and Jews introduced the Lebanese cedar wood into Spain, where it can still be seen in churches and in a Toledo synagogue.

Of the domestic animals the ass, mule, horse, goat, sheep and cow are worthy of special mention. All these, the horse excepted, are native to and domesticated in the general area since time immemorial. So are chickens, dogs and cats. Until recent times the ass has served as the principal means of transportation. He is to the mountain what the camel is to the desert. In numbers goats excel. Sure-footed and nimble, goats can climb steep heights to which no ass would aspire. Goats subsist on wild, tough, even bitter plants which no other animal, the camel excepted, can stomach.

Other than wood and fruits, limestone and water, Lebanon has no natural resources, unless climate and scenery could be so considered ; a fact which distinguishes it from its neighbours. They live on agriculture. Lebanese, beginning with the Canaanites, had to, and still do, resort to trade and travel. That has been, throughout, their main industry.

EARLIEST SETTLERS: THE CANAANITES

THE dawn of recorded history, breaking three thousand years before Christ, found a Semitic-speaking people in occupation of the Lebanese littoral. They called themselves Canaanites. Canaan was the earliest native name generally applied to Lebanon-Syria-Palestine. Modern linguistic research indicates close relationship between Canaanites, Amorites, Assyro-Babylonians, Hebrews and Arabians. Presumably they all had the same origin, somewhere in the Arabian peninsula. The term Phoenicians came later from a Greek word meaning purple red and was used for those Canaanites of the littoral who traded in purple cloth and dye with the Greeks.

The early Lebanese society along the coast was mainly urban, based on commercial and industrial economy, a feature it preserved till Roman days. A string of coast towns flourished against a thickly wooded, thinly populated background. The cities grew into states; the states exploited each other and rarely coalesced to form one centralized power. The city, therefore, holds the key to the understanding of ancient Lebanese history.

First to step on the threshold of history was Gubla, Byblos of the Greeks, Byblus of the Latins, Gebel of the Hebrews, Jubayl of today. Lying humbly between the capital Beirut and the second largest city Tripoli, Jubayl has little to offer beyond the sight of its ancient ruins. Its Greek name, whence "Bible" came, meant papyrus, book. Before the Greeks knew it as a source of papyrus from which books were then made, the Egyptians knew it as a port for cedar

wood. But recent excavations reveal four Gublas, one on top of the other, going back to pre-literary times, to the Late Stone Age (*ca.* 3500 B.C.). The site was then occupied by fishermen or farmers. This makes it the oldest settled site in Lebanon and, next to Jericho in Palestine, one of the oldest in the world. Monumental stone buildings found in one of the Gublas were dated, by a French archaeologist, 3200 B.C. and considered the oldest of their kind ever discovered. Both Gubla and Jericho were hoary with age when Damascus, "the oldest city in the world", was still a baby. Damascus was mentioned first in an Egyptian tablet of the Tell al-Amarnah period over eighteen centuries later.

Evidence of trade between Lebanon and Egypt goes back to pre-dynastic times and continues uninterrupted for long centuries. The mountain provided the treeless valley of the Nile with wood for palaces, temples and boats. In exchange Canaanites received gold and metal work. The sixty-foot funerary barge of Pharaoh Khufu (Cheops, *ca.* 2550 B.C.), found in 1954 hermetically sealed in the limestone of his great pyramid at Gizeh (al-Jizah, outside of Cairo), was constructed of Lebanese cedar wood. The wood was reported to have maintained its faint smell. More sensational was the earlier discovery (1922) in the tomb of Tutankhamon (d. 1352 B.C.) at Thebes of dazzlingly rich and gorgeously decorated coffins and of furniture pieces whose wood also came from the same source. Canaanite pottery has been found in the tombs of the First Dynasty (*ca.* 2900 B.C.), and rich offerings to the temple of Gubla were made by Pharaohs of the Second Dynasty. Egyptian pectorals, pendentives and other rich jewellery found in Byblus are today prized treasures of the National Museum, Beirut.

Early Sumerian and Babylonian conquerors claim to have reached the "western sea" and must have sought wood for their equally timberless land from the Taurus, if not from the Lebanon. Homes for ordinary people could be built of



ANCIENT LEBANON, SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Showing the Distribution of the Semites between 2000 and 500 B.C.

mud or clay, but homes for gods and kings had to have some distinction.

An international highway, basically a caravan route, linked the earliest seats of culture in the entire region. Starting at the Delta the highway went through Sinai — where it connected with copper and turquoise mines and branched to the frankincense lands of South Arabia —, continued north along the Palestine coast to Lebanon, where it bifurcated, sending a coastal branch through Tyre, Sidon and Gubla and an inland one through al-Biqa to north Syria. In north Syria the two branches met and the highway again divided to supply communication westward to Asia Minor and eastward to the Euphrates-Tigris valley. This was the highway trodden by the armies of Ramses, Esarhaddon, Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte and by the hordes of Moses and the feet of the Holy Family.

Such a highway, of course, carried more than war chariots, caravans and merchandise. It effected interchange on a higher level — spiritual, intellectual and artistic. Side by side with the Canaanite temple of Baalat at Gubla stood the Egyptian temple of Isis. The two chief goddesses were gradually amalgamated. The site of both temples can still be identified. Canaanite princes not only took pride in decorating themselves in the Egyptian style but in styling themselves "sons of Ra", chief Egyptian solar deity. Lebanese craftsmen delighted in employing hieroglyphic ornamentation in their metalwork.

Before the close of the eighteenth pre-Christian century, Egypto-Lebanese relations were interrupted by the rise to power of a conglomeration of warlike and energetic peoples who established themselves as masters of a large part of Syria-Lebanon-Palestine and swept down to Egypt. Here they remained in control for about a century and a half (*ca.* 1720–1570). These were the Hyksos, commonly called

"shepherd kings". The dominating element among them was undoubtedly Canaanite as evidenced by names of their kings and gods. This subjugation and domination of foreigners was indeed the greatest indignity Egypt had thus far suffered.

The Hyksos introduced the horse, originally an American animal but domesticated somewhere near the Caspian Sea, into the area. The use of this animal for war purposes gave them a distinct advantage. From Syria the horse made its way before our era into Arabia, where it has kept the purity of its blood.

After a long period of hated Hyksos rule a Theban prince, Ahmose I (1570–1545), launched a war of liberation which not only drove the invaders out of the land but started Egypt on its new career of aggression and imperialism. Ahmose thus became the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ushering the new empire. The policy of aggression into western Asia was pursued by a successor, Thutmose III (*ca.* 1490–1436). This Alexander of ancient Egypt undertook no less than sixteen campaigns which carried his arms victoriously as far as the Euphrates. Not only Lebanon but all Syria was incorporated in the emerging Egyptian empire. For a century Pharaonic sovereignty was virtually undisputed.

An official record of one of these campaigns inscribed on the walls of the temple at Karnak (which with Luxor marks the site of the capital Thebes) describes with gusto and pride the devastation of the islet city Ardata (classical Aradus, now Arwad), Gubla's successor as leading commercial port of the Canaanites.

Now his majesty destroyed the city of Ardata, with its grain. All its pleasant trees were cut down. Now his majesty found the entire land of Djahi [Lebanese coast] with their orchards filled with their fruit. Their wines were found lying in their vats, as water flows, and their grains on their threshing floors. They were more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army overflowed with their possession.

Evidently the invader hit on the city in the high season of fruitage. Such an utter destruction suggests determined resistance on the part of the city or repeated revolts. The record proceeds to list in detail the tribute: 51 slaves, male and female, 30 horses, 10 flat dishes of silver, incense, oil, 470 jars of honey, 6428 jars of wine, copper, lead, lapis lazuli, green felspar, 616 large cattle, 3636 small cattle, loaves of bread, grain in kernel and ground, all good fruit of this country. "Behold the army of his majesty was drunk and was anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt." What army would not — unless it be a Moslem? Lists of booty from other Lebanese coastal towns mention gold and silver rings, tables, chairs and footstools of ivory, ebony and carob wood wrought with gold, costly stones fashioned as sceptres and statues also wrought with gold, bespeaking a high standard of living enjoyed by at least the aristocracy.

Presently an insignificant town with 7000 Moslems living on fishing and boatmaking, Arwad lies dormant, oblivious of the glory of its past.

Egyptian might and influence were felt throughout the area until the beginning of the empire's decline at the turn of the fourteenth century. The century began with Amenhotep III (*ca.* 1413–1377), last of the great rulers of the era, on the Theban throne, and with the emergence in the north of a new world power, the Hittites, potential rivals and foes of the Egyptians. "Hittite" was the name loosely given to a conglomeration of non-Semitic peoples originating in Asia Minor. Initially an insignificant Anatolian tribe in the Halys River (now Kizil Irmak) area, which they called Khatti, the Khattians built up a local kingdom which developed into an empire covering most of western Asia. Early in their history the Khattians were intermixed with Indo-Europeans and later with other ethnic groups.

Amenhotep III's son Amenhotep IV (1377–1358) was more concerned with theology than statecraft, and could not

cope with the new situation. In honour of his favourite god Aton, sun's desk, he changed his name to Ikhnaton, and to free his court from the powerful priests of Amon, the national deity centred in Thebes, he transferred his seat to a new site, midway between Thebes and Memphis. This he named Akhetaton. In the ruins of Akhetaton (now Tell al-Amarnah) were unearthed in and after 1887 diplomatic correspondence which threw a flood of light on the entire era and area. Pathetic and fruitless were the reiterated appeals to the Pharaoh from loyal Phoenician kinglets for succour against marauding and invading hordes from the north. Apparently Acre (Akka), Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Gubla then formed a semi-independent league under Gubla's headship.

Slowly but surely Egypt was forced to yield north Syria, Phoenicia — an important source of its raw material — and finally Palestine.

Ikhnaton's successors made no attempt to restore lost provinces. The cause of the vast domain won by Thutmose III and lost by Ikhnaton found no champion until Seti I (*ca.* 1317–1301) of the Nineteenth Dynasty resumed "attacks on the wretched land of the Hittites" in the words of his Karnak inscriptions. A peace treaty signed with the Hittites left the question of sovereignty over the disputed area unsettled. Seti's son Ramses II carried on the offensive but his army was ambushed at Qadesh on the Orontes (*ca.* 1296) and almost annihilated. The Pharaoh himself had a narrow escape. But his annals had a different story to tell. He "cast them [the enemy] into the Orontes like crocodiles; they fell on their faces, one on top of another; and he slew whomever he desired".

Sixteen years later Ramses and the Hittite king Hattushilish signed a treaty of friendship preserved in both Egyptian hieroglyphic and Hittite cuneiform. The pact recognized north Syria as Hittite, Phoenicia and Palestine as Egyptian. It professed for object "the bringing of peace

and brotherhood between them forever". This earliest known non-aggression pact, like later ambitious international ones, turned out to be ink on paper. It was in the course of this campaign that Ramses initiated the practice of commemorating military feats through sculpture or inscriptions on the rock at the mouth of the Dog River. His steles may have been meant as boundary marks, indicating the northern limit of his realm.

After Ramses, Egypt resumed its downward course. A vivid report (*ca.* 1100) by a Pharaonic envoy sent to Lebanon on the usual mission of fetching wood for Amon's ceremonial barge reveals the shabby treatment accorded him by the prince of Gubla. After long days of entreaty the haggard frustrated envoy is granted an interview and hears the prince deny Egyptian lordship, boastfully declaring: "I am myself neither thy servant nor am I the servant of him who sent thee. If I cry out to the Lebanon, the heavens open and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea." Not until a satisfactory price is received are three hundred men and as many oxen ordered to fell and deliver the requested cedar logs.

INDEPENDENCE, TRADE AND COLONIZATION

At the turn of the thirteenth pre-Christian century both the Egyptians and the Hittite powers were definitely on the wane and the star of the Assyrians, the third world power of the ancient Orient, was not yet in the ascendant. This provided the Phoenician city-states with their unique opportunity to acknowledge no suzerainty, assert full independence and enjoy a period of relative peace and prosperity based on international trade and colonization. Roughly Phoenicia then extended from Aradus to Mount Carmel. In the meantime another Semitic people, the Aramaeans, were organizing an important kingdom centring on Damascus; and to the south still another, the Hebrews, were beginning to gain control of Palestine. Mount Lebanon checked Aramaean advance to the coast.

The political organization of Phoenician city-states, which never attained the dimension of political unity, reflected the physical dismemberment of the land and the dominant economic interest of its people, which was commercial and competitive. Each city-state was under a chief magistrate styled king. The city as a rule had its own patron deity. The king, of course, ruled by divine right, ensuring stability in succession. A council of elders, recruited from aristocratic merchants, wealthy sea captains and influential and respected citizens, served as a check on the unlimited royal authority. Byblus had such a council from earliest days.

At times citizens' loyalty, stimulated by common neighbourly interest, transcended the municipal to the federal — but not national — level. The federation would unite

several cities under the leadership of one. Ugarit headed such a federation in the sixteenth century, Gubla and Aradus in the fourteenth, Sidon in the twelfth, Tyre in the eleventh to ninth and Tripoli in the fifth. But, throughout, the preoccupation of the people was trade, crafts, art and religion rather than war and expansion. Plato's judgment, "Egypt and Phoenicia love money. The special characteristic of our part of the world is love of learning", had some justification.

Starting long before this time with coastwise sailings to peddle their tunny, glass, earthenware and other local products, Phoenicians in this period of independence struck across the open sea, charted east-to-west trade routes and planted colonies on all sides of the Mediterranean basin. Of this sea they made a Phoenician lake before the Greeks and Romans claimed it as their own. The deep seemed to have held no deterring horrors for them, but rather invited them. The unknown evidently fascinated rather than frightened them. The early paddlers evolved into international navigators and mariners, the greatest of their time, and the early pedlars into the leading traders and merchants of antiquity. Some of them turned settlers. As settlers Phoenicians planted unnumbered colonies where they distributed and rendered acceptable to Europeans and Asiatics the rich products, material, intellectual and spiritual, of the Semitic world. True liaison agents, they meantime disseminated the few products of the West, mainly minerals and earthenware, in the East. Land routes led from their city-states eastward, as sea routes led westward. Canaanite caravans knew no frontier.

As Phoenicians at home developed manufacture, arts and crafts into heights hitherto unknown, Phoenicians abroad were penetrating inland, discovering or creating new markets. Most significant and enduring among the products thereby disseminated in Europe and in Asia was the alphabet, Phoenicia's greatest contribution to the progress of mankind.

This and other boons, in the words of a modern historian, "entitle them to be commemorated in history by the side of the Hellenic and Latin nations".

Of the city-state, twelfth-century Sidon and eleventh-century Tyre were mistresses of the sea. Sidon must have then exercised a sort of hegemony over south Lebanon as Gubla and Aradus had done over north Lebanon. The author of Genesis 10 : 15 thought Sidon the firstborn of Canaan, and the Hebrew historian of the conquest (Josh. 19 : 28) styled it "great Zidon". The Book of Isaiah (23 : 12) makes Sidon the mother of Tyre. Biblical and classical writers equate Sidonians with Phoenicians. Homer extols "Sidonian" artisans and credits Phoenician traffic in cloth, brass, slaves and other commodities to them. His *Iliad* refers to the "embroidered robes, rich work of Sidonian women". All these authors were, as a matter of fact, echoing that city's predominance at a given time.

Sidon owed much to its position in the shadow of a small promontory whose northern side was rounded by a reef with attached islets providing half a mile of breakwater and affording protection for its shipping. Like other Lebanese coast cities it lay only partly on the mainland. The insular part provided facilities for shipping in time of peace and a haven of refuge in time of war; most attacks were, of course, by land.

Sidon's sister and successor, Tyre, likewise arose behind a promontory and enjoyed protection by an insular rock a mile long and three-quarters of a mile wide. Thus "situate at the entry of the sea, [this] merchant of the people for many isles" (Ezek. 27 : 3) sat like a pedlar at a city gate, spreading out its wares. In its case, as in that of Aradus, the insular part became more than a storehouse for merchandise or a place of retreat in face of danger, it became the city itself. Herodotus, who visited the place in the fifth century, was greatly impressed by the temple of its patron god

Melkarth (whom he called Herakles), with its "two pillars, one of refined gold and one of emerald, a green pillar that shone in the night-time".

By the early tenth century Tyre seems to have stood as the head of a powerful league, relegating Sidon to a secondary position. The city reached its height under Hiram I (960–936), friend and ally of Solomon and probable builder of the massive walls that made it one of the strongest on the eastern Mediterranean. The royal palace as well as Melkarth's temple stood on the island. Tyrians were evidently more adventurous than Sidonians and struck farther west. The mother of many colonies, including powerful Carthage, their city waxed rich and mighty extending its hegemony far beyond the confines of Phoenicia. Northward along the coast its authority reached Beirut. A daughter of King Ethbaal (887–856) married King Ahab of Israel, introduced Baal's worship into Samaria and slaughtered Jehovah's prophets (1 K. 16 : 30-3 ; 18 : 4, where Ithbaal is called king of the Sidonians). Her daughter, who shared the mother's masculine traits, married King Jehoram of Judah, seized the throne and ruled over the kingdom for six years (2 K. 8 : 18, 26 ; 11 : 3).

Phoenician economy was naturally conditioned by the land and its resources. Agriculture, fishing and trade were the earliest major pursuits and continued under modified forms. Farming profoundly influenced religious beliefs and practices as will be explained later. As the Canaanite society evolved, craftsmen and traders began to occupy a medial position between the feudal aristocracy of landed nobility and chariot warriors and the low class of serfs and slaves. Craftsmen as a rule took up the same profession as their fathers. They and the artisans were evidently organized into guilds bound together by blood and living in separate quarters.

An early successful industry, pottery, began to excel prior

to the mid-second millennium. Early in that millennium, the potter's wheel was introduced to give the product new quality and more symmetry. Tin was used for glazing and adding special lustre. Sculpture and metallurgy attained their heights at about the same time and, like pottery, maintained them for centuries. Canaanite metallurgists used copper and its bronze alloy with a high degree of deftness. In search for copper, silver, gold and particularly tin for hardening copper into bronze, Phoenician mariners struck into the Atlantic. In all these fields early Canaanite workers used Aegean, Egyptian and other foreign pieces as models. They imitated Egyptian vessels, vases, amulets, scarabs, seals and beads but did not stop there. They originated and transmitted. Canaanite decorators are credited with elevating the chrysanthemum and iris to the dignity of ornamental plants, and with conceiving the idea of putting in metal vases artificial flowers. What gave Phoenician art special distinction, however, was its diffusion throughout the Mediterranean area as a corollary to trade. Greek admiration for Phoenician metalwork found expression in Homer's characterization of a silver bowl which "Sidonians well skilled in deft handiwork had wrought cunningly" as "in beauty for the goodliest in all earth". It is no exaggeration to say that Canaanite art completely transformed early Greek art, which did not begin to excel its predecessor until the fifth century.

Likewise early Hebrew artists and craftsmen, from the ninth to the sixth centuries, followed models and pursued techniques provided by their Canaanite neighbours. Ahab's palace in Samaria, called "ivory house" (1 K. 22: 39) because of its rich and beautiful ivory carvings and decorations, was the work of his queen's countrymen. David's palace perhaps followed the same style, and Solomon's palace was so rich in cedar columns and beams that it became known as the "house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 K. 7: 1-3).

But the most conspicuous and celebrated of Canaanite monumental structures was unquestionably the Temple of Solomon (ruled 963–923). Originally designed as a royal chapel, an adjunct to the king's palace, the Temple eventually became the national place of Judaean worship. It took the Tyrian architects and builders, provided by King Hiram, seven years to complete it (1 K. 5 : 2-11). Fable relates the modern Masonic fraternal order to those masons of Hiram, cradles the order in the Temple and makes Solomon its first grand master. Not only were the building and decoration inspired by Canaanite motifs, but the ritual and sacrifices therein reflected Canaanite practices. Hiram's men also built for Solomon his fleet — the first in Hebrew history — based in Ezion-Geber (al-Aqabah, at the head of the Red Sea), and they trained Hebrews in sailing along the coasts of Arabia and east Africa (1 K. 9 : 26-8; 2 Ch. 9 : 10). A so-called Hiram's tomb is shown three miles outside the modern Tyre (Sur).

In music also Hebrews drew heavily on Canaanite sources. When David initiated and Solomon promoted Hebrew sacred music there was no other pattern to follow than that of their neighbours. With music went the instruments, first used for sacred then profane purposes. David's dance before the Ark (2 Sam. 6 : 14) was a reflex of earlier fertility dances. Canaanite singers and dancers were also in great demand in imperial Egypt. Egyptian names of musical instruments betray their origin. Likewise early Greeks appropriated Phoenician airs and instruments together with their names. Obviously no Semitic people cultivated the musical art to a higher degree than the Canaanites, whose temple ritual called for elaborate performances.

In industry the Phoenician name was closely associated throughout antiquity with glass, textiles and above all purple. Pliny credits Phoenicians with the discovery of glass,

as certain of their merchants were cooking their meal near Acre and used nitre from their ships. When subjected to the fire nitre combined with sand to produce glass. But we now know that glass was an Egyptian discovery. Canaanites did manufacture it, colour it, almost perfect it and importantly trafficked with it as well as with the Egyptian product. Spinning and weaving were a regular home industry throughout the Orient, but the mountainous background of the Canaanite coastal towns provided unusually good opportunities for raising sheep and other wool-yielding animals. Cotton came originally from India at a later time. The Phoenicians introduced it into the Greek world and with it the name now current in European languages. Silk, probably from wild worms, may have been known in the sixth century, if the translation of a word in Ezekiel (16 : 10, 13) is correct.

Purple was more than closely associated with Phoenicians; it gave them their Greek name as indicated in a preceding paragraph. In the sea-waters of Tyre and Sidon flourished a superior variety of the mollusc which yielded the precious dye. Additional supply was imported from as far as Sparta and the vicinity of Carthage and Utica. Heaps of the mollusc shells can still be seen on the beaches of Sidon and Tyre. To extract a few drops from the tiny animal, treat it and distil the dye required a painstaking operation. Hence the high cost of the final product. Divers fished out the molluscs and while still alive the fluid from a vein was extracted, covered with salt and left to steep for three days. It was then boiled by moderate heat and, while still boiling, skimmed from time to time. On the tenth day the fleece was plunged into it and left to soak for five hours. When it acquired the exact colour of clotted blood, it was considered of the finest quality. Research scientists in the American University of Beirut (1962) succeeded in isolating the basic element which they identified with a synthetic violet indigo dyestuff first prepared by a German company.

Phoenician purple was sought by dignitaries in Asia,

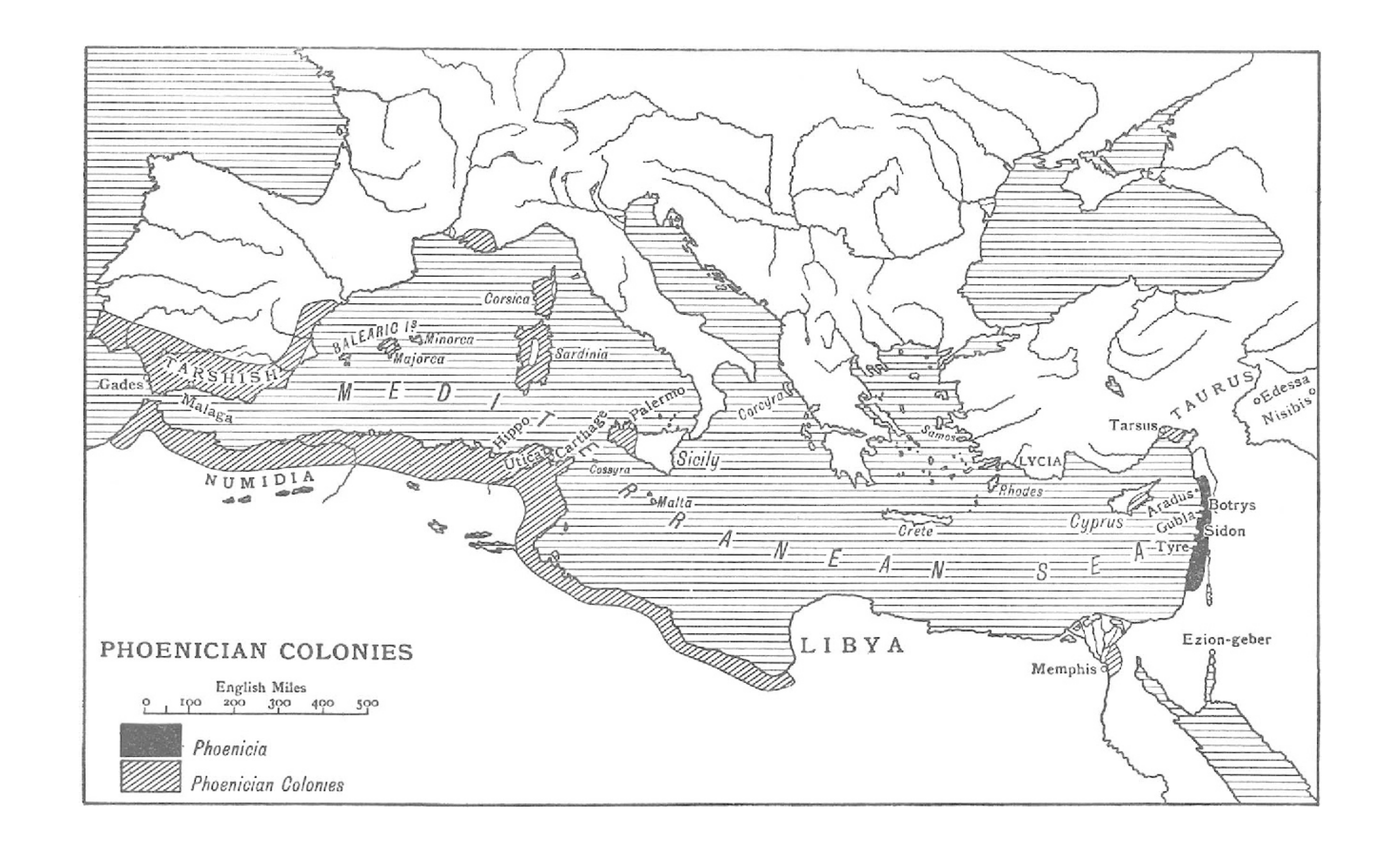
Europe and Africa. Aramaean priests in Syria, Jewish high priests in Palestine, Catholic cardinals in Rome and patriarchs of Oriental Churches wore or still wear purple robes as a token of their pontifical dignity. In Homeric as in Hellenistic times purple raiment was associated with royalty. Cleopatra of Egypt was no less fond of it than Helen of Troy. Roman emperors wore purple robes and, tradition claims, Byzantine queens delivered in special chambers bedecked in purple. Hence the phrase "born in the purple". Articles of luxury imported by Venetian merchants as late as the eighth Christian century featured "Tyrian purple".

The development of sea-borne traffic on such a grand scale necessitated systematic study of navigation. Cedar wood of unsurpassed durability was utilized for shipbuilding. Phoenician ships from about 1400 B.C. appear on Egyptian monuments. On Assyrian monuments of a later date trading vessels and battleships from the Lebanese coast display a different style. Phoenician discovery of the usefulness of the Pole Star and other heavenly bodies facilitated night navigation. The Greeks were pupils of Phoenicians in seamanship. They named the Pole Star after them and built their ships on their model, as evidenced by vase paintings. The same type was presumably used for Solomon's ships "by shipmen who had knowledge of the sea" (1 K. 9 : 27). In his commercial chapter Ezekiel (27) gives a graphic description of the amphibious Phoenician trade in early sixth century. Among other imports he lists silver, iron, tin and lead from Iberia, slaves and brass vessels from Ionia, linen from Egypt, lambs and goats from Arabia. In Homeric times Phoenician ship cargoes comprised such plants and products as the rose, palm, fig, pomegranate, myrrh, plum and almond. The olive tree was then introduced into Europe. The same ships carried back among other plants the laurel, iris, ivy and narcissus, whose Semitic names have preserved the Greek origins.

The crowning achievement of Phoenician nautical skill involved sailing around Africa over a thousand years before the Portuguese credited with the feat. At the instance of Pharaoh Necho (609–593), who had reopened the ancient Nile–Red Sea canal, Phoenicians circumnavigated Africa in three years.

As colonizers these people excelled no less than as navigators and traders. Possessing no common political life, they could more easily adapt themselves to new and strange situations. Modern Lebanese share the same traits. One trading factory after another was planted first on neighbouring shores and eastern Mediterranean islands, and then in farther lands westward. Factories developed into settlements; settlements grew into colonies. Between the mid-tenth and the mid-eighth centuries the colonizing activity was at its briskest. Cities with Semitic names mushroomed from Tarsus in Cilicia to Tarshish ("mining place") in Iberia. Malta ("refuge") had one of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, and its language has preserved numerous Phoenician words to which were added later Arabic vocabulary from North Africa. To Crete, Greek legend asserts, Zeus carried away from the Lebanese shore Europa ("sunset") — beautiful daughter of a Phoenician king — who gave her name to the continent. The royal father dispatched her brother Illyrius (whence Illyria, roughly Albania) in search for her. Another brother Cadmus ("new comer", "easterner"), legend continues, founded Thebes and more importantly introduced the letters of the Greek alphabet, which were called Acadamaean letters. Palermo in Sicily stands on an early Phoenician site and so does Marseille in France.

With the foundation of Gades (Cadiz, "walled" place, *ca.* 1000) beyond the Pillars of Hercules, Phoenicians were introduced into the Atlantic. How far they penetrated into that "sea of darkness", as it was called by Romans and


PHOENICIAN COLONIES
English Miles
0
100
200
300
400
500
Phoenicia
Phoenician Colonies
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TARSHISH
Gades
Malaga
NUMIDIA
BALEARIC Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Corsica
Sardinia
Hippo
Utica
Carthage
Palermo
Cossyra
Malta
Sicily
Corcyra
Samos
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
LYCIA
Tarsus
TAURUS
Edessa
Nisibis
Aradus
Botrys
Gubla
Sidon
Tyre
LIBYA
Memphis
Ezion-geber

Arabs, cannot be ascertained. That they reached Cornwall (south-western England) in quest of tin lacks verification. Only one late inscription in Phoenician characters, dating from the first century of the Roman occupation, has been unearthed in Britain. Greek and Roman coins found in the Azores might have been carried there by Carthaginians, since neither Greeks nor Romans seem to have had knowledge of those remote islands. The Phoenician discovery of the Atlantic marks an especially significant milestone in man's progress.

Of the colonies Carthage ("new town") held the record in might and affluence. Founded about 814 it offered in the following century keen competition to its mother-city Tyre, but in theory remained subject to it and paid tribute. Meantime Greek colonization was offering further competition which with the concurrent advance of Assyrian arms to the Phoenician coast accelerated the decline of Tyre and its sister cities. Tyre, however, does not seem to have readily surrendered its claim on its mighty daughter, as we find, as late as the second pre-Christian century, this legend on its coins "Mother of Carthage".

Adept sons of the Tyrians, Carthaginians colonized not only north-west Africa and mid-Mediterranean isles but parts of Spain and Gaul. Before the end of the third century this empire had extended from what is today Tripoli, Libya, to the Atlantic shore of Morocco and included the islands and Spain south of the Ebro. But they had one enemy to contend with — Rome. The issue was no less than supremacy of the sea. So firm had the Carthaginian hold on the Mediterranean become that Romans were told they could not even wash their feet in its waters without permission.

The military struggle between the two contestant powers began in 264 and reached a critical stage in 218, when General Hannibal, sworn to eternal enmity to Rome by his father, embarked upon his daring enterprise of attacking the

Roman wolf in its den. Hannibal's march through Spain and Gaul and across the Alps was followed by fifteen years of successful campaigning on Italian soil. One city after another fell into his hands. Rome itself was attacked, but its clever counter campaign in the vicinity of Carthage necessitated Hannibal's recall. At Zama, south-west of the capital city, the Carthaginian army was decisively defeated (202) by Roman legions. Eight years later Hannibal fled to Tyre. Carthage's continued existence was now considered a menace to Rome. In 146 the slogan of a Roman senator, "Carthage must be destroyed", was realized. For seventeen days fire raged. A plough was passed over the site. Recolonized early in the Roman Empire the unhappy city was again destroyed (*ca.* A.D. 698) by the Arabs. Cisterns, arches of an aqueduct, tumbled walls and a Roman Catholic monastery close by modern Tunis mark the site of what was once a rival of Rome.

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

THE second pre-Christian millennium was one of cultural pluralism in the Near East, with Canaan, Egypt and Mesopotamia interacting, exchanging their intellectual products and, with the Canaanites, serving as the intermediary. But not much of the Canaanite literature has survived. The ordinary writing material was perishable papyrus, and the written material related mostly to business transactions. Ironically they who perfected and disseminated the earliest, most durable and most adequate system of writing, the alphabet, left so little by way of written records.

The Canaanites acquired the basis for their system from Egyptian hieroglyphics presumably through Sinai. The hieroglyphics originated in picture writing but had developed phonologically forty consonantal signs which, however, the conservative Egyptians did not use to the exclusion of the numerous cumbersome pictorial signs. But Canaanites did. Presumably Byblian workmen and merchants in Sinai picked some of those consonantal signs, gave them Semitic names, added others and evolved what we know as the alphabet. The sign for ox-head, for example, — regardless of what ox-head was in Egyptian — was called by its Semitic name, *aleph*. Then, according to the principle of acrophony, by which a letter is given the initial sound of the name of the object it represents, this sign was used for the glottal stop (', *a*). The same treatment was accorded the sign for "house", calling it *bēth* and using it for the sound *b*; and so on with other signs. Perhaps the earliest fully intelligible alphabetic inscription extant is that on the coffin of King

Ahiram of Byblus (*ca.* 1000 B.C.), now in the National Museum, Beirut.

Earlier, Phoenicians in Ugarit (now Ras al-Shamrah, near Latakia) had used the consonantal signs (alphabetic) in writing with a stylus on clay tablets, producing cuneiform (wedge-shaped) script, similar to the Babylonian. Some most precious literary records have come to us in such tablets copied in the thirteenth century from older originals and found in and subsequent to 1929 at Ras al-Shamrah. Around 1400 B.C. Ugarit evidently had its heyday under King Niqmad, whose palace had columns with silver-overlaid bases. In the temple area of the chief deity Baal (*ba'al*, lord) most of the inscribed tablets were found. The contents are largely religious and ritual. One especially significant poem describes the yearly struggle between the vegetation deity Aliyan Baal and his deadly adversary Mot ("death"). Mot first vanquishes Baal — personifying annual experience in a land where summer drought puts an end to vegetable life — but with the renewal of rains in autumn and winter Baal scores his spring victory. Basically this is the Phoenician story of Tammuz as well as the Egyptian story of Osiris.

Comparative studies of Ugaritic and Hebraic literatures have revealed a surprising degree of dependence of Old Testament authors upon earlier Canaanite sources. This is especially true in the Book of Job, the Psalter, the Proverbs and the Song of Songs, to be illustrated later.

Basic in the religion of the Canaanites, as revealed in their literature and other sources, was the worship of the forces of growth and reproduction, on which depended the very existence of an agricultural society. This is true to a large extent of all Semitic religions. Commonly featured in this fertility cult were: mourning for the death of the vegetation deity, rites to enable him to overcome his antagonist and thereby ensure sufficient rainfall for next year's crop, and finally rejoicing at the lamented god's restoration to life.

The marriage of the restored god, Baal, with the goddess of fertility, Ishtar, produces the green that covers the earth in spring. The conception of a dying and rising god became a vital and cherished part of the Christian tradition.

An early Mesopotamian god of fertility, Tammuz, known to the Canaanites as Adhon ("lord", whence Gr. Adonis), became associated with Ishtar, the Lady of Byblus. While hunting high in Mount Lebanon at Afqah, the source of Nahr Ibrahim (which empties not far from Byblus), Tammuz was tusked by a wild boar and carried dying to his distressed mistress. Since then the river has run seasonally red with his blood (modern geologists spoil the story by pointing out the red soil washed down by spring floods). While Tammuz lingered in the underworld, all plant life on earth, of course, languished. Dead he remained until Ishtar went into the nether land and restored him. Elaborate rites commemorating his death developed at Byblus. Wild with joy on his restoration Byblian women sacrificed their virginity at Ishtar's temple. Sacred prostitution was practised also in Babylon, as reported by Herodotus. The Hebrews maintained temple harlots (Deut. 23:18; Mic. 1:7; Ezek. 8:14).

Phoenicians planted the Tammuz-Ishtar cult in Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, Carthage and other places colonized by them. In their homeland it survived centuries after Christ. As goddess of sexual love and fertility Ishtar was identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite (correspondent of the Roman Venus), whose temple at Corinth gave the city a reputation for immorality as late as the time of Paul (1 Cor. 6:9-20; 2 Cor. 12:21).

Another cult carried by Phoenicians, mainly Tyrians, overseas was that of Melkarth (Milkqart, "king of the city"), patron of Tyre. The city celebrated an annual feast in his honour, and its most distinguished monarch, Hiram I, built him the imposing temple on the islet. Melkarth's cult was featured by child-sacrifice, a practice discontinued in the

sixth pre-Christian century. Offering to the deity was a marked peculiarity of Semitic and Egyptian religions and can be traced back to the dawn of history. The primary object was to establish personal relationship, communion, between the worshipper and the worshipped, that would accrue to the benefit of the worshipper. In the agricultural stage the offering took the form of vegetables, then the firstling of the flock and later the human beings. The stories of Abel and Cain, Abraham and Isaac and the legislation in Leviticus illustrate all these types of offerings as experienced by Hebrews.

Generally the Canaanite temple was featured by a stone altar on which sacrifices were offered. Then there were the sacred pillar, representing the male deity and having probably a phallic origin, and the sacred pole. The pole was usually an oak or a pine tree. Veneration of trees was an ancient Semitic institution that has survived in Lebanon and neighbouring places to the present day. Christians, Moslems and Jews have their own sacred trees and in some cases the same tree. The sacred pillar and pole evidently obviated the necessity of indulging in idol worship. Metal and clay figurines of gods have been found but they seem to have been made for household rather than temple use.

Cities had temples but country settlements maintained open-air shrines, mostly on hilltops. The shrine was probably no more than an altar. These were the "high places", the object of repeated and vehement denunciation by Hebrew prophets.

Future life on an individual level interested the Canaanites no more than it did other early Semites. Reward or punishment — not so much for social behaviour as for observance or non-observance of the prescribed religious ritual — involved mainly health, wealth, progeny and length of life here on earth. The fact that such objects as lamps, jars,

platters, vases and drinking vessels have been found in burial places attests to a vague belief in some state of future life on the earthly pattern, but no clear scheme was ever elaborated. Following the Egyptian example, certain Canaanite kings were embalmed.

The Hebrews entered Canaan, be it recalled, with a less developed culture than that of the people they conquered and among whom they settled. Gradually they learned from them how to lead a settled life, living in homes, cultivating the land and practising handwork industry. With farming and through intermarriage, they acquired those religious institutions considered essential for fertility. The early struggle for supremacy between Baal and Yahweh was bitter and protracted. Witness Elijah's slaughter of Baal's priests at the foot of Mount Carmel (1 K. 18 : 40). Triumphant Yahweh acquired from Baal certain qualities and functions which made him lord of heaven, sender of rain, controller of storms. The vehemence of Hebrew prophets' denunciation of Baal worship and of sacred poles veneration bespeaks the fascination Canaanite rites and ceremonies continued to exercise over Israelite and Judaic minds.

In due course the Hebrews gave up their idiom in favour of its Canaanite cognate. With the new idiom they received from the same source the alphabet, as noted before. With the linguistic and religious borrowings went legal codes, hymns and poems, carrying stylistic devices, figures of speech, special expressions and direct quotations. The earliest fragments of Hebrew secular codes betray Canaanite origin. Baal in Ugaritic poems is given the epithet "rider of the clouds"; Jehovah in Psalm 68 : 4 is given virtually the same epithet. As a matter of fact this entire Psalm together with Psalm 18 abounds in Canaanitisms. Psalms 88 and 89 have headings expressly attributing them to authors with Canaanite names. Psalm 29 is a modified version of a hymn to Baal. Job 37 : 2-5 makes thunder the

voice of Jehovah; so do Psalm 29 : 3-5 and 2 Samuel 22 : 14. In Canaanite literature leviathan is a "writhing serpent", which it is in Isaiah 27 : 1. This monster of the sea is a seven-headed creature which in Greek literature becomes Herakles' (Hercules') hydra. Daniel was in Ugaritic stories a hero who "judges the case of the widow and adjudicates the cause of the fatherless" long before he appears in that capacity in the apocryphal Story of Susanna. Jehovah performs the same functions in Psalm 68 : 5; so does the righteous in Isaiah 1 : 17.

Literary interchange between Canaan and Egypt was effected on a minor scale. Egyptian productions between 1300 and 800 B.C. are rich in foreign words, particularly Canaanite. Egyptians excelled in wisdom literature. Those passages in Proverbs 15 : 16-17; 22 : 17-29; 23 : 1-17; and in Ecclesiastes 4 : 6 suspected of having Egyptian origin may have come through Canaanite channels.

The decline in Phoenician commercial activity, consequent upon Greek competition, coincided with Assyrian conquests in the eastern Mediterranean area. With these two developments Phoenician literary productivity and influence began to shrink. Aramaic gradually replaced Canaanite.

UNDER MESOPOTAMIAN AND PERSIAN DOMINATION

ATTEMPTS by Mesopotamian rulers to reach the Mediterranean began early and were repeated at intervals, but no serious formulation of the westward-push policy to seize the trade routes and their sea termini was made until the rise of the Assyrian empire. The time became opportune early in the eleventh century when both Egypt and Hittiteland had taken the precipitous downward course from which there seemed to be no return. The first to seize the opportunity was Tiglath-pileser I (1116–1093), who strengthened the base by extending his rule over the upper Euphrates and Babylonia.

From his capital Nineveh on the upper reaches of the Tigris, Tiglath-pileser in 1094 made a swift descent on the Mediterranean coast, occupied Aradus, exacted tribute from Gubal (Jubayl) and Sidon and enjoyed the novelty of a sea trip in which he — renowned as a mighty hunter — killed a "horse of the sea" (dolphin). This earliest Assyrian essay at a world power turned out to be premature. Tiglath-pileser's trans-Euphratean domain was soon lost and no attempt at its recovery was made until the days of Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859).

Ashur-nasir-pal's reign marks the emergence of imperial Assyria. In 879 this king undertook the first full-dress Mesopotamian invasion of Syria–Lebanon, paralleling that of Egypt under Thutmose III centuries before. From north Syria Ashur-nasir-pal pushed on to Lebanon and advanced along the coast, meeting no resistance. The opulent and prosperous Phoenician cities obliged by offering tribute,

indicating nominal acquiescence — but not necessarily subjection. The king proudly recorded his feat on a stone in his capital's temple :

> I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon Mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Amurru [Amorite] country. I cleaned my weapons in the deep sea and performed sheep offerings to the gods. The tribute of the sea-coast from the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblus — and Aradus (which is in the sea) — consisting of gold, silver, tin, copper, copper containers, linen garments with multicoloured trimmings, large and small donkeys, ebony, boxwood, ivory from walrus tusk — I received. And they embraced my feet.

Ashur's son and successor Shalmaneser III (859–824) developed the military potential of his country to a new height and pursued his father's aggressive policy. In 855 he fought the great battle of Qarqar on the Orontes against a mighty coalition headed by the Aramaean king of Damascus, Ben-Hadad. Ahab of Israel was a member of the coalition. Tyre and other Phoenician city-states offered contingents. The victory was not as decisive as Shalmaneser's records claim, but he did defeat Ben-Hadad, renew tribute exacted from Tyre and its sister states, impose tribute on Israel and regain control of the Mediterranean sea routes. Damascus, however, was not seized, the subjugation of the coast was not complete and he had again and again to return to the area. His inscription at the mouth of the Dog River can still be seen. On this as on similar occasions before and after, Phoenicians bowed their heads before the storm blowing from Egypt, Hittiteland or Mesopotamia, paid tribute — thus purchasing immunity from ruin — and hoped for compensation from an expanded market for their trade. Meanwhile they awaited an opportunity to revolt, that is, shake off the burden of tribute.

Tyre in the last quarter of the eighth century enjoyed a brief Indian summer, economically as well as politically,

under a redoubtable monarch Elu-eli (725–690). Sensing that Egypt was then experiencing a rejuvenation, the Tyrian ruler established new relations with the Pharaoh and successfully defended his city against a besieging Assyrian army. The siege, which began two years before the accession of Elu-eli and ended in 722, could not have been even undertaken without the co-operation of the fleets of pro-Assyrian Phoenician states. Tyre emerged victorious and imposed its authority over neighbouring states. In 701 Elu-eli planned another anti-Assyrian uprising which this time included Ascalon and Ekron. Sennacherib (705–680) lost no time. In a swift campaign he defeated the Egyptian contingent near Ekron, ravaged Judaea and chased Elu-eli across the sea to Cyprus. In his place a pro-Assyrian was installed having his seat at Sidon.

But Sidon, which in 701 professed loyalty to Sennacherib, rose in 675 against his son Esarhaddon with tragic consequences. The city was utterly destroyed; the stones of its wall were cast into the sea; and its fleeing king was caught and beheaded. Those of its inhabitants who escaped death or captivity sought refuge in neighbouring towns. Other city-states offered submission. Aradus' king not only delivered his city to Esarhaddon but with it his own daughter. A treaty of vassalage and commerce was signed with the leading towns only to be broken this time (664) by Tyre. Esarhaddon's successor Ashur-bani-pal "came down like the wolf on the fold" and dealt the city a fatal blow.

Thus did the Phoenician states, which wavered in loyalty between Assyria and Egypt and alternately accepted or rejected the domination of the one or the other, at last succumb. All hope of immediate recovery was lost when Damascus, centre of Aramaean power, fell to Assyria (732), and Samaria, capital of Israel, did the same ten years later. If Syrian and northern Palestine kings could no more

maintain their sovereignty, how could the kinglets of Lebanon?

Assyria was now poised for a final round with Egypt. The issue was no less than the determination of which of the two powers should be master of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Assyria, still on the offensive, conquered Lower Egypt (671), and Ashur-bani-pal overran Upper Egypt (668, 661). Nineveh, the "bloody city" of Nahum (3 : 1), emerged as the undisputed ruler of the whole area.

But the mighty capital of the Assyrian empire was in half a century to meet the same fate that it had meted out to vanquished cities. In 612 it fell under the blows of Nabopolassar, a rebel king from the southern region, Babylonia, in collaboration with the king of Media. The Assyrian nation, if it could be so called, ceased to exist. About two centuries later a Greek general retreating from Persia could not spot the site on which its capital once stood. Nabopolassar (625–605) founded a new empire called Neo-Babylonian or Chaldaean, claiming sway over the entire Mediterranean coast. Egypt had shaken off the Assyrian yoke and was again ready to match forces. As repeatedly in the past Lebanon was caught between a northern and a southern millstone.

This time Egypt struck first. Its army, as it had done under Thutmose, advanced as far as the Euphrates. There it was routed (605) thanks to the brilliant generalship of Nebuchadnezzar, son and successor-to-be of Nabopolassar. Nebuchadnezzar took the offensive and in 597 captured Jerusalem, capital of Judah. Following the established pattern, the Phoenician states, which tended to gravitate Egypt-ward, half-heartedly acknowledged the new Mesopotamian suzerainty.

Again like a field of wheat, the Phoenicians bent temporarily before the storm but did not break. Counting on Egyptian support, an anti-Babylonian coalition was readily organized with Tyre as the head of the Phoenician and

Jerusalem of the Palestinian states. Jeremiah's advice (ch. 27) went unheeded. Egypt sent a token contingent which was soon withdrawn, justifying an earlier prophet's claim that that country was a "broken reed" (Is. 36 : 6). In 586 Nebuchadnezzar triumphantly entered Jerusalem and terminated the career of the Kingdom of Judah. It never rose again. Tyre's turn came next. Its king Ittobaal (Ethbaal) had made the most effective preparations for its defence. For thirteen long years (585–572) the island city resisted and when it yielded it offered the usual nominal surrender, not having been stormed. Ezekiel's prediction was fulfilled only in so far as the mainland part was concerned.

> 26 : 8 He shall slay with the sword
> Thy daughters in the field :
> And he shall make a fort against thee,
> And cart a mount against thee,
> And lift up the buckler against thee.
> 9 And he shall set engines of war against thy walls,
> And with his axes he shall break down thy towers.

Nebuchadnezzar commemorated his victory on two steles at the Dog River and duplicated the record near Riblah, his headquarters on the Orontes :

> Trusting in the power of my lords Nebu and Marduk, I organized my army for an expedition to the Lebanon. I made that country happy by eradicating its enemy everywhere. . . . I cut through steep mountains, I split rocks, opened passages and thus I connected a straight road for the transport of the cedars. . . . In order that nobody might do any harm to the inhabitants of the Lebanon I erected there a stele showing me as everlasting king of this region.

The "everlasting" Babylonian rule lasted but fifty-eight years. In 539–538, a new conqueror from farther east, Cyrus, captured Babylon, seizing its king Nabonidus — who was more interested in antiquities than in state affairs — and founded the Persian Empire. Painlessly Lebanon and its neighbours passed into new hands. By this time the

dominant role in international trade had been usurped by Greeks and Carthaginians on the sea and by Aramaeans on land. The last breath of Phoenician national life came near being gasped. The Phoenician world — active, animated and learned — practically came to an end.

The empire founded by Cyrus (550–530) was stretched by his successors from the Hindu Kush and beyond the Indus to the Aegean, and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, the greatest thus far. The Persians were Indo-Europeans, closer to the Greeks and Romans than to the Semites. They followed a more centralized system of political control than their imperial predecessors. To that end they linked the far-flung parts of the empire with a system of roads, introduced metallic currency and made Aramaic, a Semitic language, the lingua franca of the realm.

Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Cyprus were grouped in one satrapy (province). Sidon was chosen as the capital. The city was provided with a royal residence for the Persian satrap and for the emperor when on a state visit. Sidon, Tyre, Byblus and Aradus, however, were allowed a measure of autonomy, including issuance of their own coinage.

Phoenician cities materially profited by the *Pax Persica* and the new facilities of communication. Their seemingly inexhaustible supply of cedar wood, though now a state domain, continued to be a source of revenue. Their fleet, the largest and best equipped in the eastern Mediterranean, was in demand by Persian warring emperors. Without it Cambyses could not have conquered Egypt (525). But when that emperor sought their aid against the Carthaginians, they flatly refused, as they "would not attack their own sons". Their response to fight the Greeks, however, was enthusiastic, as they saw in it an opportunity to damage the potential of their commercial maritime rivals.

The Greco-Persian wars have been characterized as a contest between Phoenician and Greek sea powers. In the

prolonged struggle over two hundred Phoenician ships participated, transporting Persian troops back and forth shuttling among Aegean islands and taking part in such world-renowned battles as those of Miletus (494) and Salamis (480). A Greek historian awarded the prize of valour to the Athenians for the Greeks and "to the Sidonians for the barbarians". Phoenician engineers helped build the pontoon bridge across the Hellespont, over which Xerxes' army crossed to Europe, and dig the canal through the isthmus joining Mount Athos to the mainland.

For about a century and three-quarters Perso-Phoenician relations seemed to have been cordial. But by 360 a change began. Greco-Phoenician relations entered on a new phase. Sidonians in Attica were exempted by Athenians from the usual tax on foreigners, and the number of Phoenicians in Piraeus and other cities greatly increased. A king of Sidon, Straton by name, became known as Philhelene (pro-Greek). The Lebanese must have sensed that the Persian sun was on its way to setting and resented more than before the arrogant attitude of such satraps as those of Artaxerxes III (359–338).

The spark this time was kindled in a city known to us by its Greek name Tripoli ("with three cities", Ar. Atrabulus, colloquial Tarablus). The city consisted of three separate settlements of Sidonians, Tyrians and Aradians. The insurrection started in the Sidonian quarter but soon spread to involve the entire coast. The mother-city Sidon, under its king Tennes, assumed leadership. Egypt contributed the usual encouragement. Nine leading cities expelled their satraps and declared their full independence. Artaxerxes reacted vigorously. At the head of a mighty host of 300,000 foot, 30,000 horse and 300 triremes he moved (350) against Sidon. Tennes lost heart. He betrayed the city but did not escape death. Five hundred Sidonian notables carrying the olive branches were shot down by the Persian emperor. The bulk of the people, however, resolved to die as free men. In

desperation they set all ships in the harbour on fire, leaving no way of escape, and shut themselves in their homes to be consumed with their possessions by the raging fire. More than 40,000 are said to have thus perished. The few survivals were carried away into captivity. Once the mistress of the Mediterranean, the city was now a heap of ashes. For the second time it was wiped off the map, the first being three centuries and a quarter earlier by Esarhaddon.

The Persian hold on the coast, bought at such a high cost, was short-lived. In eighteen years the entire empire was to crumble under the blows of an unexpected invader from the West.

ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

When in the spring of 334 B.C. a twenty-year-old Macedonian led an army of 35,000 across the Hellespont, in the opposite direction to Darius' and Xerxes' crossing, neither he nor anyone else could have foreseen that the map of the Near East was soon to be redrawn and the course of its history changed. The general's name: Alexander the Great.

The march through Asia Minor, then in Persian hands, amounted to a promenade. At Issus, a narrow defile in north Syria, skill and discipline counterbalanced numerical superiority; the motley host of Darius III was shattered (333). The emperor had a narrow escape, leaving even his harem behind. The Macedonian phalanx had been developed by the general's father, Philip, under whom the kingdom attained hegemony over Greece. Alexander's spectacular victory was commemorated by building Alexandretta (Iskandarun), a harbinger of unnumbered cities to be built by him and by his successors. The way was now open through Lebanon to Egypt. Aradus, Byblus, Sidon and other ports willingly exchanged masters. Only Tyre, former defier of Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar, dared hold out.

Such a potential trouble-maker could not be left behind. To make the siege effective Alexander constructed a mole half a mile long and two hundred feet wide, linking the islet to the mainland, and enlisted the services of eighty Sidonian, Byblian and Aradian triremes. Tyrian archers, slingers and divers harassed and hindered the building of the causeway but could not stop it. Inch by inch the attackers had to fight their way on it. The expected aid from Tyre's neighbours, Egypt and Carthage, was not forthcoming. After a

heroic resistance to a seven-months' siege the unhappy city succumbed (332). Some 8000 of its citizens were slain in the conflict, 2000 crucified on the beach, and 30,000 sold as slaves. An example was set before any would-be resistant. Therewith ended Tyre's historical role. The victory was celebrated with gymnastic games and a torch race. In full armour Alexander, followed by his officers, entered the temple of Melkarth — to be equated hereafter with Greek Herakles — offered sacrifices and claimed descent from him.

The Egyptians yielded as readily as the bulk of Lebanese had done. Another nail was thereby driven into the coffin of Persian supremacy. Just off the western mouth of the Nile the invader founded Alexandria, destined to become his successors' capital, an Oriental heir of Athens as a centre of Greek learning, an emporium of international trade and a leading seaport of the Mediterranean. Rushing back Alexander went inland through al-Biqa, bore north-eastward, hit the Euphrates and on the plain near Arbela (Irbil) encountered the main Persian army. The defeat was complete (331). Again Darius barely escaped with his life. But he did not escape assassination two years later by two of his own people. The dynasty, founded by Cyrus the Great some two and a quarter centuries before and raised to the peak of its might by Darius the Great, ended. A Macedonian proclaimed himself the legitimate heir.

Not content, the indefatigable conqueror continued farther south and east to India and Afghanistan, whence the murmurs of his exhausted men forced his return. Babylon was the stopping place. Here he drank, caroused, planned new campaigns and died in 323.

More significant than the military was the cultural achievement. Alexander aimed at and worked for a meeting of East and West on a common and enduring basis. His was the first clear vision of a fusion of the two cultures to be implemented by intermarriages, intellectual cross-fertiliza-

tion and exchange. He himself married Darius' daughter and urged his men to follow his example. The new world state was to have a universal language, a common code of laws and identical coinage. Cities built by him and his successors were to be foci radiating Greek science, Greek philosophy and Greek religion. The partial, gradual fusion of Western and Eastern cultures did produce a new type — Hellenism.

Lebanon, which in pre-Alexandrine days had closer contacts than its neighbours with the Greek world, responded heartily, as it did in our days to Western influences. The reciprocity in its trade with Greece moved at a brisk tempo. Phoenician seamen served with Alexander's and his successors' sailors, and Phoenician traders followed the Greek armies to inner Asia.

The hastily assembled, widely extended Alexandrine empire fell to pieces at the death of its creator. His generals scrambled among themselves for its choicest pieces. None was strong enough to hold the whole. Out of the chaos four states emerged under four generals: Syria and Mesopotamia under Seleucus I, Egypt under Ptolemy I, Asia Minor under Antigonus, and Macedonia with Greece under Antipater. "The great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven" (Dan. 8:8). For years Lebanese cities were passed as a football from one general to another. In 296 they seemed to have settled under Seleucus, ablest of the four generals, founder of the Syrian kingdom and builder of its capital Antioch, so named after his father. But ten years later they yielded to Ptolemy, shrewdest of the four and founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty. For eighty-eight years they acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty. In this period Sidon rose again and moved to the forefront. Its monarch Eshmun Azar (*ca.* 280) extended his sway as far south as Joppa (Jaffa). His Egyptian-styled anthropoid sarcophagus (now in the Louvre)

was found in Sidon with many other similar sarcophagi, now on display in the National Museum, Beirut.

For over a century after that (198–82) Lebanon formed a part of the Seleucid kingdom. Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164), whose ruling ambition was the continuation of the welding process of his multinational domain into a unit, Lebanese cities started holding periodic festivals in the Greek style and combining the offering of sacrifices with pageantry and gymnastic contests. Antiochus' over-enthusiasm for Hellenism and his claim to divinity (Theos Epiphanes, "God manifest") provoked the serious Jewish revolt of the Maccabees, which lasted for years.

As Seleucid power declined Lebanese mercantile cities pressed toward self-determination. Certain privileges and rights, featured by issuing their own coinage, were given them. Tyre, devastated by Alexander, enjoyed complete autonomy beginning 125 B.C. Before that date Aradus had coined large quantities of silver. On Tyrian coins we find two legends, one in Greek acknowledging dependence on Seleucid kings and the other in Phoenician expressing a measure of independence. Tripoli, Byblus, Sidon and Acre likewise achieved autonomy. As such they could settle local disputes by themselves without resort to royal courts. This brand of autonomy, however, differed radically from the earlier one. The shell was there, but the essence — the driving force — had gone.

The last convulsions of the Syrian kingdom lingered for a century throughout which Lebanon shared in the anarchy. Not only Palestine Jews were pressing where Seleucids were giving way but also Arab Nabataeans farther south, Iranian Parthians in the distant north-east and Aramaic-speaking Ituraeans were doing likewise. After establishing a kingdom in al-Biqa, Ituraeans raided the Lebanese littoral. More dangerous than all these was an Armenian advance from the north-east led by King Tigranes.

Tigranes first consolidated his kingdom by adding Mesopotamia and Media and in 83 B.C. was ready for Syria. He encountered no serious resistance in capturing Antioch, and ending the Seleucid dynasty. In 69 he reached as far south as Acre. This "king of kings", as he pompously styled himself, incurred the hostility of Rome by offering asylum to his father-in-law, a Pontus king who had overrun Roman Asia Minor. By the year 64 a dashing Roman general, Pompey, had recovered Asia Minor and moved against Tigranes. The Armenian conqueror was chased back to the land whence he came. Lebanon and Syria entered on a new chapter in their history to be entitled the Roman period.

The Seleucid dynasty passed into history books, but Seleucid legacy — Hellenism — passed into the lives of unending successive generations. Through the gates opened by Alexander and widened by Seleucids and Ptolemys an ever-increasing flood of Greek thought, techniques and practices spread and engulfed the entire Orient. The flow was facilitated by improved means of communication, physical and intellectual.

Exchange in commodities went hand in hand with exchange in ideas. Precious stones from central Asia, spices from India, frankincense from Arabia and slaves from all these and other lands found their way into the West, passing partly through Lebanese ports. In Lebanon itself the lumber industry flourished as in Pharaonic days. Grape wine and olive oil industry became more lively. Glasswork maintained its primacy. Blown glass was invented probably there toward the end of the Seleucid or the beginning of the Roman period. The art of metalwork took long strides forward. Purple-dyed textiles enjoyed wider demand. Byblus became a centre for the preparation of papyrus rolls. From the Phoenician coast the material was introduced into Greece even before Seleucid days.

Commercial and industrial activity at home revived

colonization abroad. Berytus (Beirut) maintained in Rhodes a flourishing colony with a temple for its patron god Poseidon, a non-Semitic deity. This and other Phoenician towns emulated Greek cities in furnishing themselves with theatres, baths, gymnasiums and other non-Semitic features. They celebrated Greek feasts. Following the Greek precedent they started new eras for dating their happenings, choosing for a beginning some important historic events. Aradus started its new chronology in 259 B.C., Tyre in 126, Beirut in 197, Sidon in 111. All this took place despite the fact that Lebanon had no Greek cities but only immigrants, comprising war veterans, traders, artists and scholars sprinkled in its cities. It should, however, be remembered that as Semites were being Grecized, Greeks were being Semitized. The Orientalization of the Hellenic world was no less effective than the Hellenization of the Orient. Seleucid kings adopted additional Semitic names. Gods were amalgamated. Baal became Zeus. Melkarth, as noted above, was identified with Herakles. The mysteries of Tammuz and Ashtart were transferred to Adonis and Aphrodite.

The spread of Greek thought was conditioned by the spread of Greek language. Being the conquerors' language, it naturally acquired special glamour and attraction. With that went a recognition of the superiority of Greek literature. In Sidon and Tyre, no less than in such Greek cities as Antioch and Laodicea (Latakia), Greek science, philosophy and literature were assiduously cultivated. An educated Phoenician of the late Seleucid era must have felt as much at ease in a Greek city as a Greek would have felt in a Phoenician city. The same could be said today of a French-educated Beiruti in Paris *vis-à-vis* a Parisian in Beirut.

Aramaic, nevertheless, persisted as the vernacular in both Syria and Lebanon. The highly educated were generally bilingual. The common people were no more Hellenized than their modern Lebanese counterpart are Frenchified.

By the end of the Seleucid period Aramaic was beginning to supplant its Phoenician sister. But Phoenician remained in use in official documents until shortly before Christ and in temple schools until the victory of Christianity in the early fourth century. Modern Lebanese, especially Maronites, are not unaware of their Phoenician heritage. Certain of their emigrants' clubs in North and South America carry the Phoenician name.

Hellenistic Phoenicians made a noteworthy contribution to Greek philosophy in its Stoic and Epicurean forms. In fact the founder of Stoicism was a Cyprus-born Phoenician named Zeno (333–261), whose *stoa poikile* (painted porch), where he lectured in Athens, gave the name to the school. Zeno spoke Greek with an accent and was called Phoenician by his contemporaries. His *Republic* projected an ideal state having no national boundaries and comprising only full citizens with wives and properties held in common. The hope of universal brotherhood and international peace held up by his Utopia was the one for the realization of which men of good will have ever been striving. Stoicism is generally considered the greatest creation of the age and the noblest system of the ancient European world. Zeno was followed by Boethus of Sidon (second century B.C.), who participated in the development of this system. Boethus rejected pantheism and divided the universe into two parts of which the divine was one. Like other philosophers of old he was also a scientist, specializing in astronomy.

Another Zeno, born about 150 B.C. in Sidon, headed the Epicurean school at Athens and counted among his audience the celebrated Roman orator, statesman and philosopher Cicero. Epicureanism, a competitor of Stoicism, was founded in Athens by Epicurus (d. 270), who maintained that pleasure was the only good, the beginning and end of the blessed life, but that the genuine pleasant blessed life must be a life of prudence, honour and justice. The system was criticized as a "pig philosophy", having for motto "eat and

drink for tomorrow you die". A Tyrian philosopher, Diodorus (*fl.* 110 B.C.), headed the Peripatetic school at Athens and attempted a reconciliation between Stoicism and Epicureanism. His thesis was that the greatest good consists in a combination of virtue with the absence of pain. The school derives its name from the walks (*peripatos*) of the Lyceum at Athens where Aristotle taught.

Greek-writing Phoenicians exhibit no striking originality in literary and poetic compositions. Their products were rich in colour but poor in thought. Several were adept in the art of improvization and epigram making, reminding us of modern Lebanese folk poets. Tyre-born Antipater, who flourished in Sidon at the end of the second pre-Christian century, typifies the group. He used the epigram primarily for dedications and epitaphs. Following is a sample epitaph of his:

> Why mourn then, for our sons, since e'en the gods
> Save not their offspring from the law of death?

In his philosophy Antipater was clearly Epicurean. "Let us drink, for this is very truth, that wine is a horse for the road, while foot-travellers take a bypath to Hades." In Antipater's writings we find the earliest extant listing of the "seven wonders" of the world: the pyramids of Egypt, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the Colossus of Rhodes and the Pharos of Alexandria.

IN ROMAN DAYS

UNDER the Romans the entire area from the Taurus to Sinai was incorporated into a single province, Syria. Officially Phoenicia ceased to exist. Strabo (d. A.D. 24) was the first geographer to use the term Syria in this official meaning, although Herodotus, centuries before, had used it loosely in its wide sense. As a frontier district bordering on Parthia, Rome's only rival then and formidable enemy, the province of Syria was placed under a proconsul, seated in Antioch and in control of a strong military force of four legions. His responsibility included the security of Roman possessions throughout south-west Asia. A chain of military posts was established along the fringe of the Syrian Desert to protect the cultivated and cultured areas against nomads and other intruders. Water stations and strategic points were garrisoned.

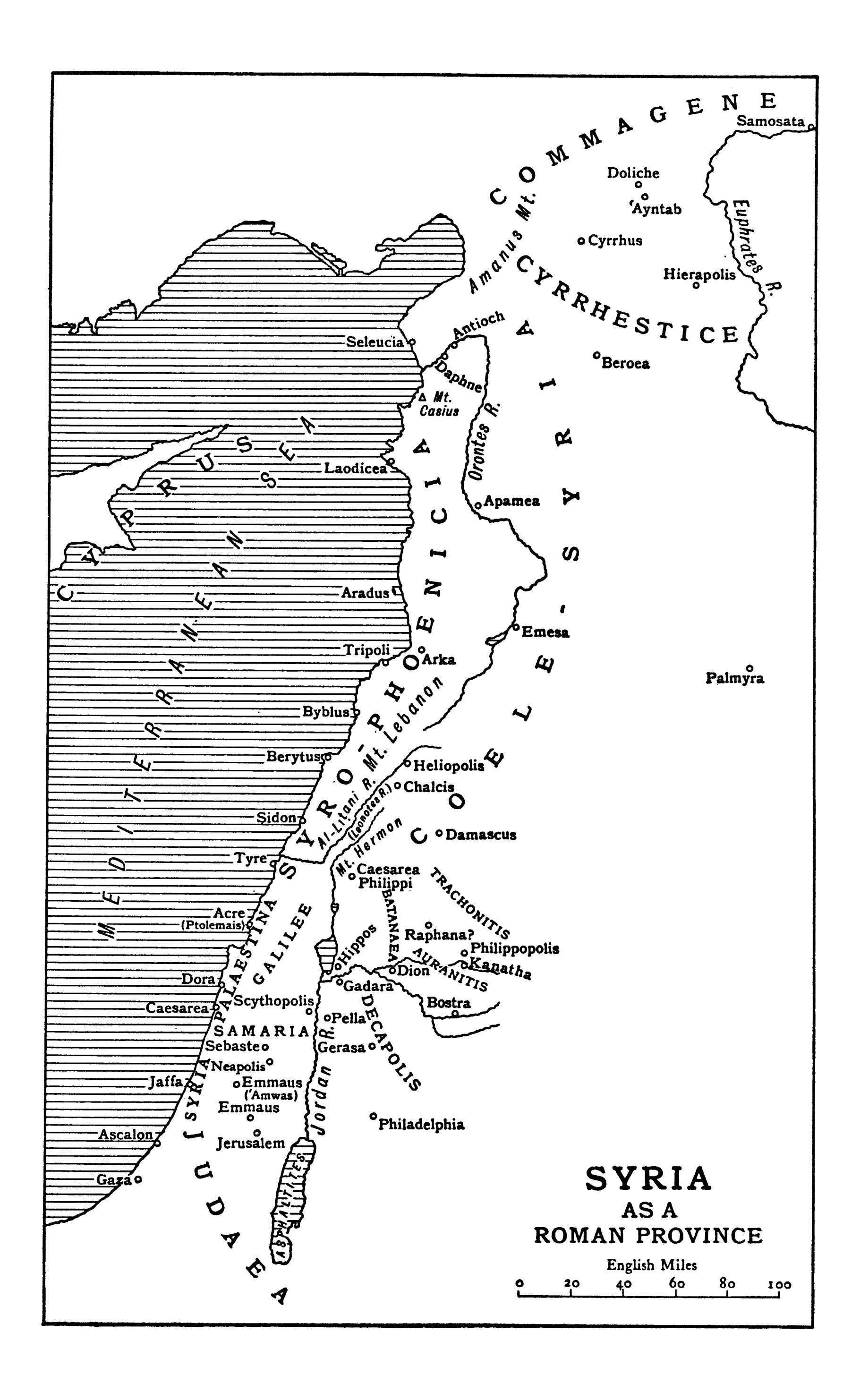
The period of tumult and internal discord in Rome, during which several contestants for supreme power conspired and warred, ended in 27 B.C. when the senate conferred on an adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar the title of Augustus (of majestic grandeur). This was Augustus Caesar (d. A.D. 14), imperator and founder of an empire which developed into the most powerful and the most extensive the world had hitherto seen, an empire that was to endure as a unit for three and a half centuries. The eighth month of our calendar bears his name. Babylon on the Euphrates, Nineveh on the Tigris, Thebes on the Nile, Khatti near the Halys seemed as if they had never existed; Rome on the Tiber stood supreme from the Atlantic and to the North Sea to the Persian Gulf and from the Rhine and

the Danube to the African Sahara. The dream for which Alexander laboured and utopian writers aspired seemed to have been politically realized by the Roman sword.

The Syrian province benefited by the *Pax Romana* established by the new order. Lebanon's population, hitherto largely confined to the coastal area, spilled its surplus over the western slopes of the mountain. Such island cities as Aradus and Tyre followed in their growth a perpendicular rather than a horizontal line. Aradians lived, New Yorkwise, in diminutive skyscrapers. The problem of water supply was met by storing in cisterns rain water from roofs, supplemented by tapping a submarine spring in the channel separating them from the mainland. The operation involved sinking from a boat a wide-mouthed lead funnel with an attached leathern pipe — an ingenious contrivance never reported before.

Wealthy Lebanese and Roman residents began to establish summer resorts in mountainous areas up to this time exclusively the domain of hunters, shepherds, woodcutters and brigands. Worshippers increasingly chose hilltops for shrines. Temple ruins, half-buried columns, Latin and Greek inscriptions, sarcophagi have been found in such high and widely scattered villages as Shimlan, Qartabah, Tannurin and Ihdin. A Latin inscription in Niha marks the burial place of a Roman official from Beirut. This inland expansion was reflected in the political set-up of the second Christian century when the district of Phoenice was extended to the area east of the mountain. Towards the end of that century Septimius Severus (193–211), who by marrying a Syrian lady inaugurated the Syro-Lebanese dynasty in Rome, ordained a partition of the province of Syria into an eastern half, called Coele-Syria, and a western half, Syro-Phoenicia.

In that century Phoenician legends on coins vanish. Greek persists on coins and in memorial inscriptions. Phoenician becomes extinct. Aramaic, the language of Christ, replaces it. Latin failed to prevail, despite the subjection of



COMMAGENE
Samosata
Doliche
'Ayntab
Cyrrhus
Hierapolis
Euphrates R.
Amanus Mt.
CYRRHESTICE
Antioch
Seleucia
Daphne
Mt. Casius
Beroea
Orontes R.
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laodicea
Apamea
SYRIA
Aradus
Emesa
Tripoli
Arka
Palmyra
SYRO-PHOENICIA
Byblus
Mt. Lebanon
COELE-SYRIA
Berytus
Heliopolis
Chalcis
Al-Litani R.
(Leonotes R.)
Sidon
Damascus
Mt. Hermon
Tyre
Caesarea
Philippi
TRACHONITIS
BATANAEA
Acre
(Ptolemais)
Raphana?
Philippopolis
Hippos
AURANITIS
Kanatha
Dion
PALAESTINA
GALILEE
Dora
Gadara
Bostra
Caesarea
Scythopolis
Pella
DECAPOLIS
SAMARIA
Sebaste
Gerasa
Neapolis
Jaffa
Emmaus
('Amwas)
Emmaus
Jordan R.
Philadelphia
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Gaza
JUDAEA
ASPHALTITES
SYRIA
AS A
ROMAN PROVINCE
English Miles
0
20
40
60
80
100

all peoples under Roman rule to a denationalizing process. Government officials, of course, used it. Greek continued as the language of literature. Roman civilization, being akin to the Greek and based on it, had no difficulty in harmonizing itself with Hellenistic culture prevailing in the Near East. With a fresh Latin injection Hellenism resumed its onward march.

The political, linguistic and cultural upheaval attendant on Roman rule had its economic repercussion. Lebanese mercantile cities entered upon a period of unprecedented prosperity. They faced a world-wide market, enjoyed a high measure of security and utilized improved means of communication. Not only trade but agriculture and industry were stimulated. The demands of the Western market for Eastern products attained new heights. The export of wine, olive oil, dates, dried fruits, hides and wheat flour increased. Beirut and Tyre acquired fame for wine and linen, Sidon for its choice glass. The cloth industry, centred on wool and linen — both native raw materials — maintained its ancient tradition of excellence especially when bearing its superb purple dye.

Then there were the natural resources of Lebanon, headed by lumber. More than before the mountain was called upon to provide material for fuel, shipbuilding, house construction and the manufacture of wagons, tools, and engines of war, necessitating the initiation of measures for protection of its forests and for methodical felling of their trees. In the literature of the period we find references to copper mines in the Sidon area and iron mines in the Beirut vicinity. Additional to native products Lebanese cities served as outlets for merchandise from foreign lands. Transit traffic then, as now, was a major source of national income. Both land and sea routes were utilized. Spices, pearls, medicinal and aromatic products came from South Arabia; sugar, rice and precious stones from India; silk from China.

For long a Chinese monopoly and luxury, silk acquired special attraction for Roman aristocracy. Especially when prepared on Beirut and Tyre looms and dyed purple did it fetch highest prices.

There was, besides, traffic in human merchandise. Slaves to the ancient society were what servants, labourers, gadgets and machines are to the modern. Slaves were recruited from prisoners of wars, kidnapped children or unwary adults and purchased unwanted infants. A class of professional slave traders arose. They combed the markets as far as central Asia and deep into dark Africa. The East-to-West trade passed through Mediterranean ports.

Transactions on an international scale necessitated new developments. Migration was not limited to goods. Beginning with the Augustan period a steady flow of Lebanese and Syrian merchants, agents, businessmen, entertainers, priests, slaves, soldiers (both legionary and auxiliary) made its way into the Latin provinces of the West. The flow swelled into a flood under the Syro-Lebanese dynasty (193–235). They all went by the name of Syrians. Even before then Juvenal, the Roman satirist, had complained, "The Syrian Orontes has long since poured its water into the Tiber, bringing with it its lingo and its manners, its flutes and its harp strings".

Roman Syro-Lebanese wrote a chapter in the history of emigration and colonization worthy of them as descendants of Phoenicians and ancestors of the modern generations. Settlements flourished at Rome; its early *entrepôt* of Eastern supplies, Puteoli (now Pozzuoli); Ostia, its later port; Syracuse in Sicily; Piraeus and other ports of Greece and the Archipelago. From coast towns emigrants followed courses of rivers or commercial highways inland. In the valley of the Danube, Syro-Lebanese penetrated as far as Sirmium (site in north-east Yugoslavia). By the Gironde they reached Bordeaux, and by the Rhône as far as Lyons. A Lebanese glass manufacturer maintained a branch office in

Cologne on the Rhine. Vases bearing the signature of a first-century Sidonian glassmaker have been found among other places in south Russia. A second-century inscription from Málaga (Spain) cites a Syrian corporation there. Gaul seemed to have offered special attractions. A decree (A.D. 172), addressed to the mariners of Arles (north of Marseille) by the Roman procurator and setting regulations for the transport of wheat, has been found in the Lebanese town of Dayr al-Qamar. When in 585 the people of Orleans went to receive their king, there were among them those who sang his praises "in the language of the Syrians". The Paris colony in 581 elected one of its members to the bishopric of the city.

Mobility in goods and men necessitates mobility in ideas. Exchange in cultural elements between East and West was more lively than ever before.

Though primarily a mercantile society the Lebanese under Rome made significant contributions to the literary and scientific life of the age. Classical writers refer to "Phoenician poets" but not many names have survived. Writing around A.D. 20 the Greek geographer Strabo, after travelling in Libya, Egypt and western Asia, thought that the greatest store of knowledge was to be found in Phoenician cities. He singled out Sidon — associated in the reader's mind with glass and purple — as the home of "philosophers in the science of astronomy and mathematics". Strabo himself studied under its Aristotelian philosopher, Boethus, whose brother was likewise a "famous philosopher". Of the works of a Greek-writing historian and grammarian, Philo of Byblus (64–*ca.* 141), only fragments are extant. These can be found in the celebrated history of the Christian Church by Eusebius (d. *ca.* 340). Philo drew upon an earlier Phoenician historian, Sanchuniathon of Berytus (Beirut), whose studies on the mythology, cosmology, religion and history of Phoenicia have survived only in excerpts. A

contemporary of Philo, Marinus of Tyre, is considered the founder of mathematical geography. His were the earliest maps to give to each place its latitude and longitude, leaving no uncertainty of location. Ptolemy, whose system of geography and astronomy was universally accepted until displaced by that of Copernicus some fifteen centuries later, acknowledges Marinus' as the basis of his work.

Another Tyrian of even deeper and wider influence was Porphyry ("clad in royal purple", 233–*ca.* 305), second founder of Neo-Platonism. His Semitic name was Melik ("king"). Melik was educated in Tyre but taught at Rome, to which he was attracted by the fame of the Egyptian Plotinus, founder in the first instance of that syncretism of Greek and Oriental ideas which goes by the name of Neo-Platonism. There Porphyry collected the works of Plotinus, classified them and arranged them in *Enneads* ("groups of nine"), which he published. But for Porphyry, Plotinus might have been no more than a name. If with Christianity an Eastern religion changed the way of life of the West, with Neo-Platonism the Eastern sense and spirit transformed the philosophy of the West.

Best known among Porphyry's pupils was Jamblichus (*ca.* 250–325), a native of Chalcis (now Anjar, in al-Biqa) who, unlike his fellow-scholars, remained to teach and write in his homeland. The pupil disagreed with the master in ascribing reason to animals. In Neo-Pythagorean fashion Jamblichus attributed to numbers higher values than those of scientific mathematics and linked speculation in numbers to speculation in theology. By his pupils and later Neo-Platonists this Lebanese philosopher was deified, receiving the epithet of *theos*, which, modern critics say, he earned by his skill in magic.

Throughout the early Roman era Greek, entrenched for over three centuries and cherished — even cultivated — by Romans, held its own as the lingua franca of the East. Only

one city, Berytus, became a "Latin island in the sea of Oriental Hellenism". In it flourished between A.D. 50 and 100 Probus, a soldier who turned scholar. Probus specialized in Latin literature, settled in Rome and edited critical versions of Virgil, Horace and other major poets. He thereby laid the foundation of classicism and assumed his rank among leading Latin philologists.

A third language of the area was Aramaic, the native tongue. Its early literary output escaped the memory of history. Even Christ's sermons and his biographies by his disciples have come down to us only in their Greek translation. As the area became Christianized, Syriac, a branch of Aramaic, was used by the churches of Lebanon, Syria and Mesopotamia. From the third century on its use for literary purposes became widespread. It established association with the rising national feeling. The old Semitic name, Aramaic, smacked of heathenism and was given up in favour of Syriac, a term with Greco-Latin antecedents. By the same token the people began to call themselves Syrians (Suryan).

ROMANIZED LEBANON CHRISTIANIZED

As the reign of Augustus Caesar (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) crossed the threshold into anno Domini, neither he nor anyone else was aware of it. No historian, Greek, Latin or Aramaean, noted the occasion that prompted the event. So dazzled were the eyes of the world focused on the limelight reflected from the resplendent imperial throne in Rome that the rays of the halo surrounding the head of a babe born in a manger in a remote corner of the empire went unnoticed. Yet, the chain of reaction set by that birth was to change the course of spiritual life in history as its contemporaneous birth of the Roman Empire was to change the course of its political life. But the spiritual change was to abide long, long after the empire had crumbled into pieces.

The new gospel centred on love, love of God — himself love — and love of man. It emphasized man's unselfish duty of devotion to God and service to man. Through love the believers were to reduce mankind to one family under one fatherhood, that of God. The ideal held was universal. Spirituality, inwardness and conduct were to count more than ritualism, cult and ceremony. The new teaching had a message for the poor, the unhappy, the outcast that no Hellenistic cult could match. It worked out a scheme for the after life to which no religion had paid much heed. The founder incomparably personified what he preached, and he finally laid down his life for the principles in which he believed. In its ideology, ethics, eschatology, dogmatic certainty and the personality of its author, the new religion met needs which other religions had failed to meet.

Both Palestine and Lebanon lay then in the province of Syria under a Roman governor whom Luke (2 : 2) names

Cyrenius. They all spoke the same tongue, Aramaic. Tidings of the teaching and healing power of the Prophet of Galilee reached south Lebanon early in his ministry and prompted people from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon to go and visit him (Mk. 3 : 8; Lk. 6 : 17). He himself later undertook a trip to the borders of these two cities, and while there healed the daughter of a Phoenician woman (Matt. 15 : 21-8; Mk. 7 : 24-31). The combination of "Tyre and Sidon" in these and other New Testament passages was evidently equated in the writers' minds with all Phoenicia. The traditional site of this miracle was commemorated by a church that was still standing in the mid-fourteenth century. A couple of miles south-east of Sidon lies a grotto housing a Greek Catholic Church dedicated to Sayyidat al-Mantarah (Our Lady of the Watch). Tradition locates therein the place where Mary awaited her son's advent. Among those who "were scattered abroad" upon Stephen's martyrdom, to preach the gospel, were some who went to Phoenicia (Acts 11 : 19).

Christ worked out the ideology of Christianity, but Paul propagated and institutionalized it. Paul was Jewish by birth, Roman in citizenship and Hebrew-Greek in education. He knew Greek and Greek philosophy. Semitic Christianity had to be Hellenized to become palatable. Paul started the process. In the course of his numerous journeys this great apostle to the gentiles must have repeatedly passed through Lebanon. So must have done other early apostles on their way back and forth between Jerusalem, Christianity's birthplace, and Antioch, the Christian Church's cradle. Certain visits of Paul have been recorded. On his way back from Greece (*ca.* 56) he landed at Tyre and found there an established church. This was presumably the earliest in the country. Paul tarried seven days and a farewell party accompanied him to the harbour and, kneeling, prayed for him (Acts 21 : 4-6). He continued to Acre, where a church had likewise grown (Acts 21 : 7). Later on his way to Rome

he stopped at Sidon and was courteously received by co-religionists (Acts 27 : 3).

By the close of the second century Tyre had become the seat of a Christian bishop. In 335 a church council was held in it. About the same time a Tyrian missionary, Frumentius, was credited with introducing the new religion into Ethiopia. He landed there, the story says, as he was shipwrecked on the way to India. By then Sidon had its bishop who attended the ecumenical council at Nicaea (325), the council that formulated the Nicene Creed.

Beirut's history records a number of Christians who in the last years of the second century patronized its famed law school. Among the victims of the Diocletian-Maximian persecution, initiated in 303, Eusebius signalizes the "marvellous and truly blessed" Pamphilus, a "man very dear to God". Pamphilus was born in or near Beirut and taught Eusebius, who, in reverence, added the master's name to his own. Another and better known martyr of this persecution was Saint George. Beirut, among many other cities, claims him and commemorates his name in the bay on which it is situated. The dragon the chivalrous hero slaughtered to save a Beiruti princess came from the bay. Introduced by Crusaders into Europe, St. George was later adopted as patron of England and has since figured on its gold coins.

The number of Lebanese martyrs of this "great persecution", which raged for ten long years (303–13) throughout Syria, Palestine and Egypt, is hard to ascertain. Books of martyrs abound with names of those in the area maimed, crucified, drowned, burned or offered to the beasts. Persecutions there were before but relatively mild in character and not so universal in scope. The Syro-Lebanese emperors, with all their cruelties, were tolerant on this point. The last among them, Alexander Severus (222–35), who was born at Arqah (north Lebanon), forbade the traditional emperor-worship and set up in his oratory busts of Christ, Zoroaster

and Abraham. His mother, also Arqah-born, sympathized with if not confessed Christianity.

Surprisingly imperial power began to be wielded in favour of the persecuted religion even before the end of the horrifying experience. Tradition asserts that Constantine the Great (co-emperor 306 and sole emperor 324–37) was converted to the new faith in 312. The occasion was his beholding in the sky, on his march to a battlefield, a brilliant cross with a Greek inscription: "By this sign conquer". Thereupon the victorious emperor adopted the labarum as the imperial standard. Constantine's mother, Helena, was a more sincerely devout Christian. About 325 she undertook a holy pilgrimage resulting in the alleged discovery of the cross on the site where she built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. She is also credited with building the Church of the Nativity in neighbouring Bethlehem, both today the most revered shrines in Christendom. The cult of the holy places was therewith instituted. It helped to propagate Christianity in both East and West. On the elevation to the purple of her son, she received the title of Augusta; a nobler title she received after her death as she was canonized.

In one edict after another this first Christian emperor ordered the demolition of pagan temples and the prohibition of sacrifices. Christianity became an official religion.

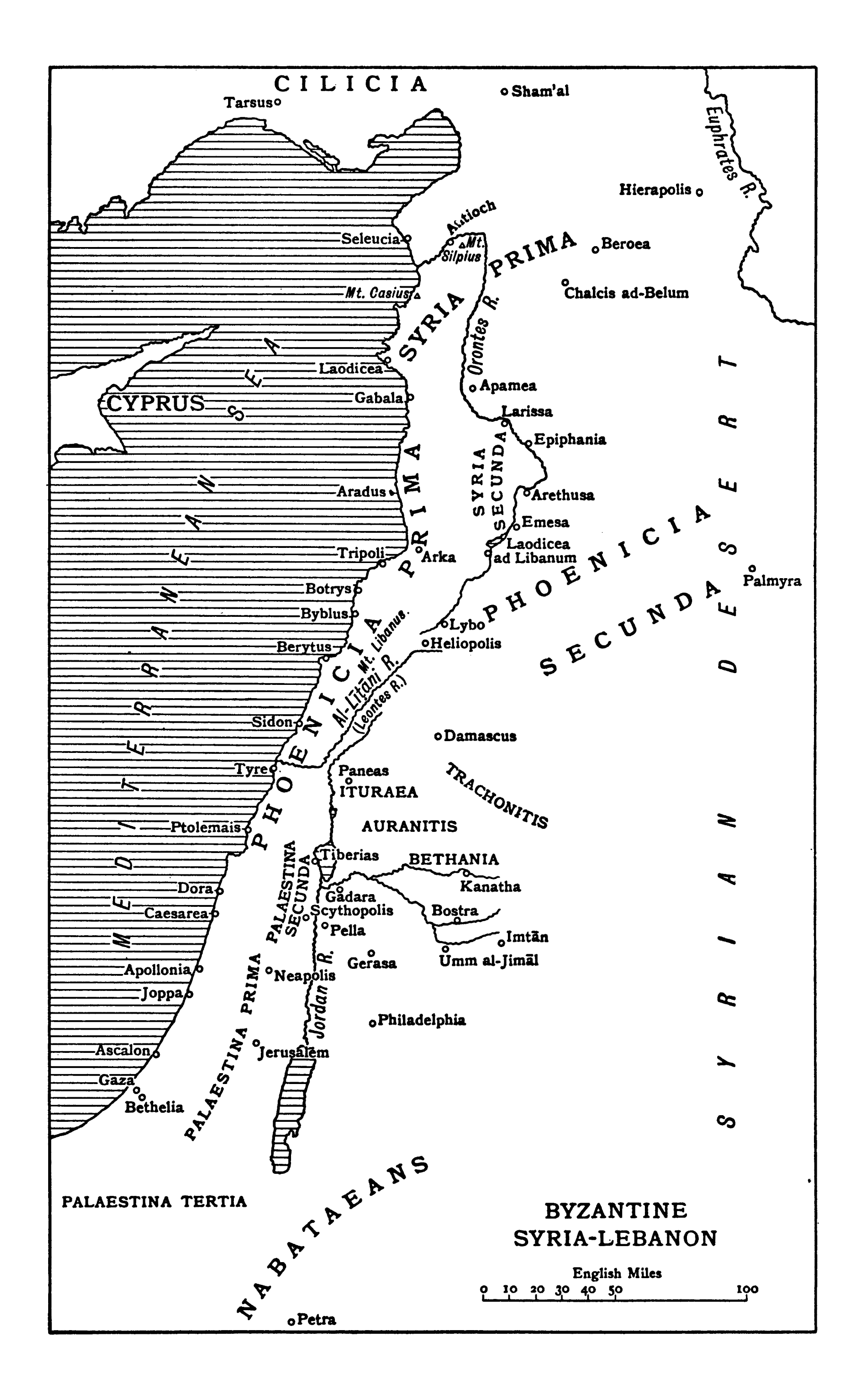
Another epochal achievement of Constantine, entitling him to the epithet of Great, was the founding (330) on the site of Byzantium a new capital that bore his name. The shift from Rome to Constantinople (now Istanbul) was indicative of the preponderance of the eastern half of the empire. Again the centre of world gravity was moving eastward. A revived Persia was then the major contestant with Rome. Christian in faith, Greek in language and eastern in its orientation the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire differed from the Western and long outlived it, enduring until the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The two heathen strongholds of inland Lebanon were Heliopolis (Baalbak), seat of mighty Hadad (metamorphosed into Jupiter), and Afqah dedicated to the attractive Ishtar-Tammuz combination. Consequent to Constantine's edict the Heliopolitan temple was only converted into a church, but that of Afqah, with its licentious cult involving sacred prostitution, was utterly demolished. Julian the Apostate, sole successor of Constantine who did not profess Christianity, reconstructed the Afqah temple, to be abandoned under Theodosius (379–95), to whom a number of extant Christian buildings in the area are ascribed. With this emperor triumphant Christianity resumed its onward march. In the following century Heliopolitan bishops begin to figure in church annals. In fact by then not only Lebanon but Syria and Palestine must have assumed the aspects of Christian lands, aspects which were to linger until the spread of Islam.

The history of Lebanon has thus far been the story of its maritime cities. Only one inland city in Roman days achieved distinction. This was Heliopolis, to use its Greek name, the "city of the sun".

Long before the Seleucids Baalbak was dedicated to the Canaanite deity, Baal, as indicated by the name. The Aramaeans identified Baal with Hadad, their god of lightning and thunder. Hadad's beneficence resulted in rain and fertility; his maleficence produced floods destructive to crops and flocks. The cult, a natural favourite of an agricultural society, became confused with that of the sun, equally favoured. In late Hellenized days Hadad was equated with the principal Roman deity and given the epithet Jupiter Heliopolitanus. He became popular way beyond the confines of Lebanon and Syria. Its city was declared a Roman colony and made a garrison town by Augustus Caesar.

Represented by a gold image the head Heliopolitan deity was worshipped in elaborate style in a magnificent temple.


CILICIA
Tarsus
Sham'al
Euphrates R.
Hierapolis
Antioch
Mt. Silpius
Seleucia
Beroea
SYRIA PRIMA
Mt. Casius
Chalcis ad-Belum
Orontes R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laodicea
Apamea
Gabala
CYPRUS
Larissa
Epiphania
SYRIA SECUNDA
Aradus
Arethusa
Emesa
Tripoli
Arka
Laodicea ad Libanum
Botrys
Palmyra
Byblus
Lybo
PHOENICIA SECUNDA
Mt. Libanus
Heliopolis
Berytus
Al-Lītāni R.
(Leontes R.)
SYRIAN DESERT
Sidon
Damascus
PHOENICIA
Tyre
Paneas
ITURAEA
TRACHONITIS
Ptolemais
AURANITIS
Tiberias
BETHANIA
PALAESTINA SECUNDA
Kanatha
Dora
Gadara
Caesarea
Scythopolis
Bostra
Pella
Imtān
Gerasa
Umm al-Jimāl
Apollonia
Neapolis
Jordan R.
Joppa
PALAESTINA PRIMA
Philadelphia
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Gaza
Bethelia
PALAESTINA TERTIA
NABATAEANS
BYZANTINE SYRIA-LEBANON
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Petra

His oracle was consulted by Roman emperors. Before Trajan started his campaign against Parthia (116) he, by way of testing the oracle, submitted a blank writing-paper in a sealed wrapper, then proceeded with the consultation in earnest. The response took the form of a bundle of wood wrapped in a cloth. Meaning was given to the symbolic response when the following year the emperor died in Cilicia, thus adding to the oracular fame.

Beginning in the mid-second century Roman emperors, headed by Antonius Pius, started amplifying and beautifying the temple, resulting in an acropolis in which, besides Hadad, his Syrian (Aramaic) consort Atargatis (Ashtart or Ishtar, Venus) figured. It was natural for the Syro-Lebanese emperors to bestow special care on it. Caracalla (211–17) completed the structure. The name of this monarch is borne today by a Moslem Baalbak family. The building figured on many of this dynasty's coins. As a sanctuary the acropolis enjoyed the immunity privilege.

The Arab conquerors converted the area into a fortress. Their writers numbered it among the wonders of the world; it was constructed by the jinn for Solomon. In fact its ruins surpass any left anywhere from Roman days. Aside from the huge blocks high up in the walls and the colossal magnitude of the pillars, it is the wealth of detail in ornamentation and the delicate figure work on the friezes that excite the wonder of a constant stream of tourists. The quarry on the outskirts of the town exhibits what is purportedly the largest dressed megalith in existence. The Lebanese have found a new use for the ruined temple: holding annual international festivals featuring French and English plays as well as native folk dances and songs.

Of the Lebanese cities Berytus, to use its Greco-Latin name, achieved unique distinction in education. Tyre and Sidon remained centres of industry and trade in Roman days; Heliopolis became a centre of religion; Berytus,

thanks to its law school, developed into a leading intellectual seat in the empire.

The city shared with Heliopolis the honour of becoming an early veteran colony and town garrison. Its harbour served as a base for the fleet in those waters. The city was designated Julia Augusta Felix Berytus in honour of Augustus' daughter. This "happy colony" of Julia Augusta was made happier when Septimius Severus (193–211) raised it to full colonial rank for its loyalty during his contest for imperial power with a rival. Its people enjoyed self-government and exemption from poll and land tax. Like its inland sister Heliopolis, Berytus became an early Romanized city amidst Hellenized ones.

The school of Roman law to which Berytus owed its international fame was probably founded by Septimius Severus, who was himself commemorated by a temple and a statue in the city. Other such schools existed in Athens, Alexandria and similarly important provincial cities, but none approached that of Berytus as a creative intellectual institution, drawing from a wide area some of the best legal minds among professors and the most promising among students. The Roman institution must have served a similar function to that of the American University and the French University in modern Beirut. Legal training then had a broad basis and attracted more than those interested in government posts.

Two most eminent Roman jurists, Papinian and Ulpian, started as Berytus professors. Papinian, a native of Hims (Emesa, birthplace of Severus' wife Julia Domna), was invited to be imperial counsellor. But Severus' son Caracalla, an irresponsible tyrant, ordered him beheaded (212) for his disapproval of the emperor's murder of his own brother. Though only thirty-seven years old, Papinian bequeathed an enduring legal heritage. About six hundred excerpts from his writings were incorporated (533) in the *Digest*, a summary of the Justinian Code, which lies as the basis of European law.

Papinian's successor, Tyre-born Ulpian, made an even more extensive contribution. Called by Papinian to assist him under Septimius Severus, Ulpian was banished by Caracalla but reinstated as counsellor by Caracalla's Lebanese-born successor Alexander Severus (222–35). Alexander had been tutored by Ulpian. In contrast to his immediate predecessors' reigns, the reign of this emperor stands out as an illuminated spot against a dark background. In personal character, too, he was unique. Under his patronage Ulpian fought abuses, introduced reforms and went so far as to impose discipline upon the Praetorians. A band of this imperial bodyguard one dark night forced its way into the imperial palace, to which Ulpian had fled for refuge, and slaughtered him in the presence of the emperor and his mother. But his works lived on. Twenty-five hundred extracts, a third of the *Digest*, were included therein.

More than a nursery for men of the state, the Berytus institution served as a sort of academy for men of the church. Law education then embraced study of the sciences, grammar, rhetoric, Greek and Latin; it served as a liberal education for men with intellectual ambitions. Latin was the language of instruction until replaced in the early fifth century by Greek. By the end of that century the Berytus institution had attained the dimensions of a university, with schools for letters and philosophy in addition to law.

Ecclesiastical records display a galaxy of theologians, bishops and other princes of the church, all graduates of Berytus. Earliest among them was Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. *ca.* 265), who with his brother journeyed from faraway Cappadocia to the Lebanese city. Gregory had eight years of schooling there. Both brothers embraced Christianity. One was ordained bishop of Pontus and Gregory of his native town. His surname ("wonder worker") he received on account of the numerous miracles he reputedly performed. Another saint and father of the Eastern Church, also a native of Cappadocia, was Gregory of Nazianzus (d. *ca.* 389), who

began his studies at Athens but completed them at Berytus. Gregory was summoned to Constantinople to defend orthodoxy against Arianism and other doctrines considered heterodox. He remained there as patriarch and earned the surname of Theologus (the theologian).

Not all graduates of Berytus adhered to orthodoxy. Severus of Antioch distinguished himself as a leading Monophysite theologian and patriarch of Antioch (512–18). Monophysitism ("single nature"), the doctrine of the western branch of the Syrian Church, known later as Jacobite, maintained that in Christ the human and the divine constituted but one nature, not two. From the pen of a fellow-student we have a delightful biography of Severus, which throws interesting light on student life in those days.

Class exercises were suspended from Saturday noon till Monday morning. The evenings were free for those who wished to study. Students drank, gambled and patronized prostitutes. Severus' admonitions did no good. There were student organizations. One specialized in occult science and its members practised magic. A leader of this society was an Egyptian, another an Armenian. A student from Samosata presided over the Christian society. Its members met evenings in a town church to study the works of Church Fathers. Some fasted daily, practised chastity and indulged in the luxury of a bath once a year, on Easter eve. So ascetic was Severus that he abstained from meat.

The educational institution which was born around A.D. 200, survived from the Roman to the Byzantine era, attained full maturity in the first half of the sixth century, was wiped off the slate of existence before the end of the second half. Between 551 and 555 Lebanese coast cities were almost pulverized by a succession of earthquakes. Berytus was hardest hit. The city had experienced many earlier ones, but none so destructive. The earthquake of 349 was interpreted as a sign of divine wrath and made some of those

who still clung to heathenism swing over to the new faith. Especially violent was that of 551, followed by a mountainous tidal wave that reached a mile inland and swept back to a watery grave everything before it. Recently unearthed columns, now standing in front of the National Museum, are presumed to have belonged to the school building. Attempts at restoration were made, to be frustrated in 560 by a fire which dealt the final blow to city and school. A contemporary Greek lawyer and historian of Asia Minor mourned the loss of "Berytus, most beautiful, hitherto the ornament of Phoenicia". Farther west a poet in Spain put the following words in the mouth of the bereaved town:

> Here am I, the wretched city, lying in ruins, my citizens dead men, alas! most ill-fated of all! The fire god destroyed me after the shock of the Earth-Shaker [Poseidon]. Ah me! From so much loveliness I am become ashes. Yet do ye who pass me by bewail my fate, and shed a tear in honour of Berytus that is no more.

Blackout blanketed Lebanon throughout the seventh century. Man-made events were thereafter in the making that shook a large part of the civilized world, followed by a human tidal wave that changed its history. Islam was born.

IN THE ORBIT OF ISLAM AND ARABISM

IN a hitherto little-known country, adjoining the province to which Lebanon and Palestine belonged, was born about A.D. 570 to a cameleer father a child known to history by his honorific name Muhammad ("highly praised"), a name given today to more children than any other. Mecca, the barren city of his birth, can now be used as a common noun for any place sought by groups for pilgrimage or some other object. The city to which he and his small band of followers migrated, almost as refugees, changed its original name to Medina (al-Madinah, "the city"); the year of his migration (*hijrah*, hegira), 622, marked the beginning of a new calendar for Moslems. A.H. (anno Hegirae) is used by Moslems all over the world as A.D. by Christians. Hegira (small *h*) has come to mean exodus, flight. The religion founded by Muhammad, Islam ("surrender" to the will of God), is now the religion of some 430,000,000 scattered all over the globe. The book he, an unschooled man, produced (Koran, *al-Qur'an*, "reading", "recitation") is considered by these people the literal word of God, dictated to his Messenger by Gabriel and embodying all theology, science and philosophy. The language Muhammad used is today that of about 80,000,000 Arabic-speaking Moslems, Christians and Jews from western Morocco to eastern Iraq; it is the medium of prayer for many, many more millions from Iran through Pakistan and India to Indonesia and the Philippines. The empire for which he prepared the way, caliphate (*khilafah*, "succession" to Muhammad), once extended from France and Spain through North Africa into western and central Asia. The nation he called forth was the Arabian; metamorphosed into Arab, it has not ceased to assert itself. The

learned system of the Koran denies Muhammad any miracles or characteristics other than human, but these may be considered the miracles performed by him mostly after his death.

When in 633, the year after the Prophet's death, a detachment of Arabian Moslems reached Wadi al-Arabah (south of the Dead Sea) and fought the first battle outside the Arabian peninsula, the Byzantine governor must have taken it to be one of those raids from desert dwellers recurring since the beginning of time. Neither he nor anyone else, including the victorious Arabian commander, could have realized that it was the first shot in a struggle that was not to cease until the battle cry of Islam, *Allahu Akbar* (God is the most great), resounded eight hundred years later in the Byzantine capital and its cathedrals were converted into mosques.

Two years after the battle of Wadi al-Arabah in Palestine, Damascus, then provincial capital of Syria, fell to another detachment operating from the east. Six months' siege ended by treachery on the part of high native Christian officials in the government. Baalbak fell the same year; Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, Asqalan and other maritime towns soon followed. Other cities in Syria and Palestine did likewise. The battle of the Yarmuk, Jordan's tributary, August 20, 636, proved decisive. The Byzantine army of fifty thousand, many times the Arabian in number, was led by Emperor Heraclius' brother. Heraclius had in person mustered the army mostly from local mercenaries. The fate of the entire area from Sinai to the Taurus was sealed. This was the emperor who had recently chased the Persians out of Syria, Palestine and Egypt and was hailed deliverer of Christendom and restorer of the Eastern Roman Empire. "Farewell, O Syria" were his parting words, "and what an excellent country this is for the enemy!" The Fertile Crescent was on its way to becoming the Arab Crescent.

A brilliant young and dashing commander emerged as

the hero of the Syrian campaign, Khalid ibn-al-Walid. Member of the Quraysh tribe, to a humble clan of which the Prophet belonged, Khalid had won his laurels as conqueror of Arabia. Arabia had to conquer itself before it could conquer the world outside. It had to be Islamized before it could Islamize others. Khalid then led a column north-eastward and wrested the Euphrates area from Persian hands. In response to caliphal orders from Medina, prompted by his hard-pressed co-religionists on the Syrian front, he, at the head of about eight hundred warriors, dashed eastward through some seven hundred miles of sand in eighteen days. At times he had to give his men and horses water to drink from the paunches of camels. The feat stands out in Arab desert saga. Khalid, who was not recruited to the new faith until 629, barely three years before the Prophet's death, well merited his title the "sword of Allah".

The conquest of Persia, which after the Byzantine was the greatest world power, continued after Khalid's departure from its border. By 637 the entire land was overrun. A twelve-century-old empire was obliterated not to appear again for eight more centuries. Persia, like the rest of the Near East, was gradually Arabicized and Islamized. Its conquest facilitated further conquests eastward.

Meanwhile the western front was not all quiet. Its hero was another Qurayshite, Amr ibn-al-As, like Khalid a newcomer to the faith. Amr was one of the commanders in the Syrian campaign. After repeated requests to the first caliph abu-Bakr (632–4) in Medina and to his successor Umar ibn-al-Khattab (634–44), Amr was authorized to move against Egypt. He had offered as a special qualification his knowledge of the roads since he had been a caravaneer. Amr reached the Egyptian border in December 639 and two years later was in possession of the country's strongly fortified and garrisoned capital, Alexandria, in whose harbour the Byzantine fleet was based. The rich valley of the Nile, granary of

the empire, was lost. It served as a springboard for further expansion westward.

Arab chroniclers, all writing long after the events and affected by hindsight, gave these phenomenal military successes Providential interpretation, the same that Christian theologians had given to Church events, and Old Testament writers to Hebrew conquests. In fact it was not so much the religious as the economic motive that prompted the expansion. The terrestrial reward, rather than the celestial, was the immediate and general goal. Surplus population of a barren peninsula had to seek exit and could find elbow-room through two openings only, north-east and north-west. Through those same two it had earlier sent streams of tribes which formed the Assyrians, Babylonians, Hebrews and Phoenicians of history. What all those migrants sought was to share in the higher life of the settled area. In this instance, Islam did provide the ideology, adding to the driving power its doctrine of holy war (*jihad*), which offered unhindered, unblocked access to Paradise to whoever dies on the battle-field.

This emphasis on Islam the religion by Arab historians is reflected in medieval Christian historians' theses that the followers of Muhammad burst upon an unexpecting world offering two alternatives: the Koran or the sword. In fact the "people of the book" — the Christians and Jews — were offered at the outset a third choice, tribute. On its acceptance they would become *dhimmis*, protected people. And most of them did. As expansion reached non-Christian-Jewish lands, Moslems found it more practical to extend this third choice to Zoroastrians and other heathen communities. There were more necks than the sword of Islam could reach. What conquered at this stage, then, was Islam the state — not Islam the religion.

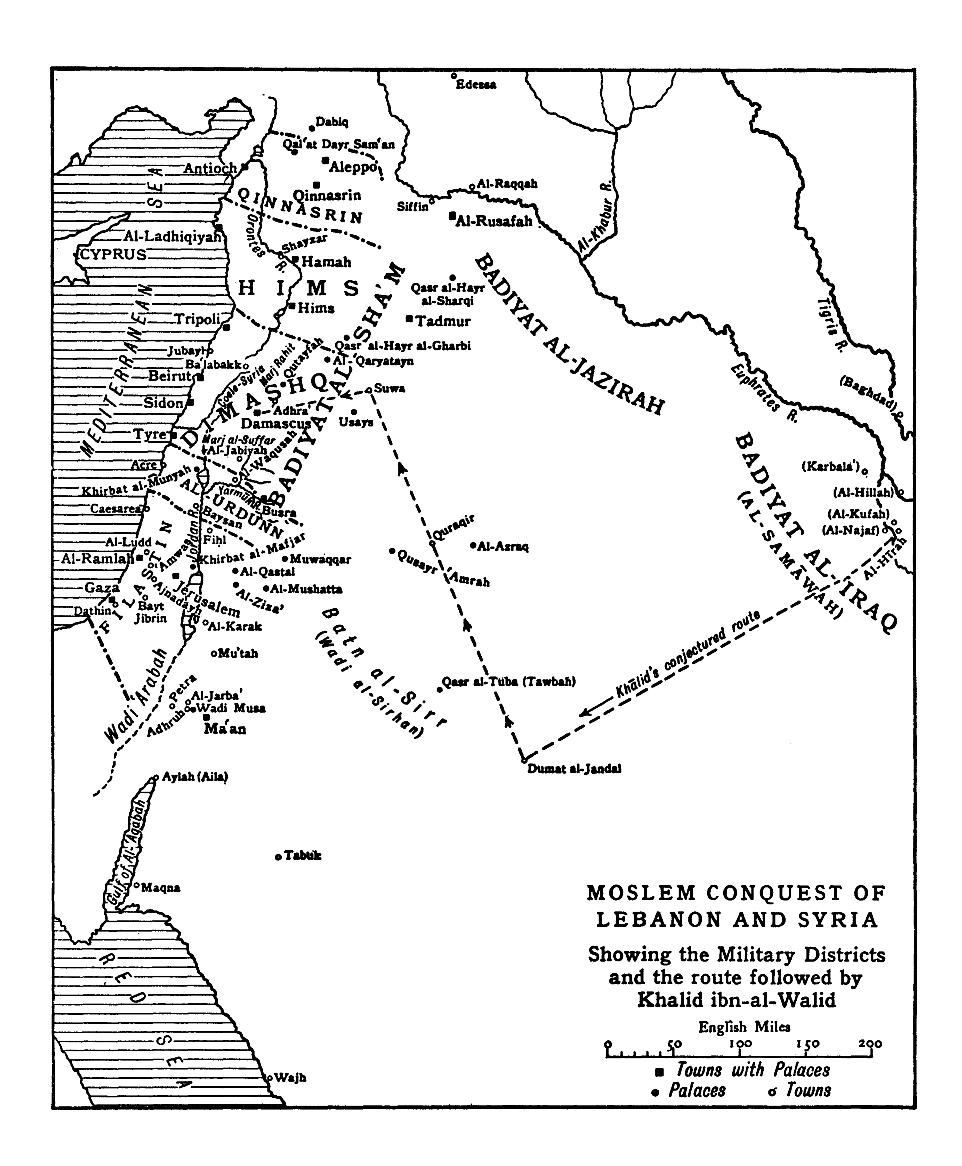
Certain international factors contributed their share. A prolonged state of war between Byzantines and Persians had

weakened if not exhausted both sides. The Byzantines neglected the southern chain of forts and withdrew or depleted their garrisons. Mounting military expenditures necessitated more onerous taxes. The entire empire lacked political unity and the ruling regime failed to command the loyalty of its Semitic subjects. To them the Byzantines remained alien. The adoption by Christian Syrians of Monophysite or other theologies considered heterodox by the state disrupted its spiritual unity. The disruption worsened as dissident Christians were subjected to disabilities if not actual persecution.

On the other hand the natives of the Fertile Crescent must have viewed the Arabians as closer of kin to them than the Byzantines. Arabic was a cousin of Aramaic. Islam must have then looked like a schismatic form of Christianity. Hence the reception given the advancing army by such a town as Shayzar on the Orontes whose people, in the words of an early historian, al-Baladhuri, "accompanied by players on the tambourines and singers, and bowed down before him, welcomed the commander". In certain Palestine places, Jews played a similar role—all with the hope that the incoming regime would be an improvement on the outgoing.

The new regime found itself confronted with the colossal task of administering a vast newly acquired territory with no experience to serve as guide and no precedent to follow except, in this instance, the Byzantine. It was therefore natural to maintain the existing governmental framework and keep a maximum number of key native officials in their posts. Even the language of the bureaus and register remained for a time Greek. The army commander-in-chief became *ipso facto* governor-general of the province, combining in his person all military, executive and judiciary powers. His first headquarters were a military camp outside of Damascus.

The Syrian province was divided into five military districts, corresponding to the Byzantine divisions, each under


MOSLEM CONQUEST OF
LEBANON AND SYRIA
Showing the Military Districts
and the route followed by
Khalid ibn-al-Walid
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Towns with Palaces
Palaces
Towns
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
RED SEA
QINNASRIN
HIMS
DIMASHQ
AL-URDUNN
FILASTIN
BADIYAT AL-SHA'M
BADIYAT AL-JAZIRAH
BADIYAT AL-'IRAQ
(AL-SAMAWAH)
Batn al-Sirr
(Wadi al-Sirhan)
Khalid's conjectured route
Edessa
Dabiq
Qal'at Dayr Sam'an
Aleppo
Antioch
Qinnasrin
Al-Raqqah
Siffin
Al-Rusafah
Al-Ladhiqiyah
Shayzar
Hamah
Orontes R.
Al-Khabur R.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Hims
Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi
Tadmur
Tripoli
Jubayl
Ba'labakk
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi
Al-Qaryatayn
Suwa
Adhra'
Damascus
Usays
Marj Rahit
Qutayfah
Coele-Syria
Marj al-Suffar
Al-Jabiyah
Al-Waqusah
Khirbat al-Munyah
Caesarea
Yarmuk R.
Busra
Baysan
Fihl
Jordan R.
Al-Ludd
Al-Ramlah
Amwas
Khirbat al-Mafjar
Muwaqqar
Al-Qastal
Al-Mushatta
Al-Ziza'
Gaza
Ajnadayn
Jerusalem
Dathin
Bayt Jibrin
Al-Karak
Mu'tah
Quraqir
Al-Azraq
Qusayr 'Amrah
(Baghdad)
(Karbala')
(Al-Hillah)
(Al-Kufah)
(Al-Najaf)
Al-Hirah
Qasr al-Tuba (Tawbah)
Dumat al-Jandal
Wadi Arabah
Petra
Al-Jarba'
Wadi Musa
Adhruh
Ma'an
Aylah (Aila)
Gulf of Al-'Aqabah
Tabuk
Maqna
Wajh

a military commander. In this primitive stage Arabian provincial government was military in form, financial in aim and flexible in method. It was a cardinal point of its policy that Arabian Moslems in conquered lands should constitute a religio-military aristocracy, keeping their blood pure and abstaining from such pursuits as agriculture or industry. As for the conquered peoples, they, in their new status as dhimmis, became second-class citizens under a covenanted obligation to pay a tribute — comprising land and poll tax —, receive state protection and enjoy exemption from military duty, the theory being that only a Moslem could draw his sword in defence of the faith.

In 640 Caliph Umar ibn-al-Khattab appointed an officer in the Syrian army, Muawiyah, as governor of the province. Muawiyah belonged to the aristocratic branch of the Quraysh, Umayyah, which in pre-Islam held custody of the Kaaba and did not acknowledge Muhammad as prophet until his conquest of Mecca. Umar's successor, Uthman (644–56), belonged to the same clan. Charged with nepotism the caliph was murdered by rebellious factions, including partisans of Ali, first cousin of Muhammad, husband of his only living daughter Fatimah, and an early claimant to the right of succession.

Muawiyah made a major issue of the shedding of the first caliphal blood by Moslem hands. He persistently embarrassed Uthman's successor Ali (656–61) by confronting him with the dilemma: produce and punish the assassins or accept the position of an accomplice. By shrewd manœuvring he, considered one of the four geniuses of Islam, squeezed Ali out of the highest post in the state and took his place. As governor Muawiyah dominated the Syrian scene from 640 to 661, as caliph the Moslem world from 661 to 680.

Ali's partisans, however, insisted that Ali was divinely designated as the legitimate successor and that his descendants were entitled to the caliphate by hereditary right. This early religio-political split in the body of Islam developed into

what is today the largest sect, the Shiah ("partisans").

The primitive, patriarchal form of caliphate, centred at Medina, came to an end with Ali. Its incumbents had behaved more like tribal chiefs than monarchs. Closely related to Muhammad and intimately associated with him, they conducted state affairs inspired by the awe of his personal influence. Hence the epithet orthodox (*rashidun*) caliphs (632–61).

Muawiyah started a new series, the Umayyad (661–750), seated at Damascus. It was less religious, more worldly and fully monarchic, following the Byzantine and Persian models. It breathed more of the Fertile Crescent and less of the desert. The centre of gravity in Islam had shifted northward, thanks to the conquests, and there it remained. Hijaz was not to play a significant role in international affairs until the rise of the Saudis.

The founder of the new dynasty modernized the army, hitherto organized on a tribal basis, and strengthened it by recruits from Syria. Eastward he pushed the frontier of the empire as far as Bukhara in Turkestan, westward to what is today Tunisia. In Acre and Tyre he found fully equipped Byzantine shipyards which he developed into an arsenal second only to that of Alexandria. This made Muawiyah the first admiral in Islam. Both "arsenal" and "admiral" are of Arabic etymology. As in the past the Lebanon provided lumber and Lebanese largely manned his fleet. The fleet acquired Cyprus, sacked Crete and Rhodes and in a battle off the Asia Minor shore almost annihilated the Byzantine. In his struggle against Ali's followers headed by Ali's sons, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, Muawiyah depended upon the unwavering loyalty of his Syro-Lebanese subjects, the majority of whom were still Christians. The son of his Christian wife he designated as his successor, introducing the unorthodox — from the Arabian point of view — hereditary principle. Thus did the first real king in Islam become the first founder of a dynasty.

ENTER THE MARONITES AND THE DRUZES

History knew little about Lebanon and the Lebanese in the first centuries of Islam. Not until the beginning of the Crusades, late eleventh century, did they begin to figure prominently. Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl, Tripoli and other coastal towns must have lost some of their Byzantine or pro-Byzantine inhabitants as a result of the conquest, necessitating transplanting by Muawiyah (*ca.* 663) of Persians to replace them as a measure of protection against possible naval incursions by the enemy. A few Arabians, no doubt, also settled there. The same possibility influenced this caliph in his choice of an inland seat of government, Damascus. But the mountain offered no attraction to desert people. Agriculture was considered below their dignity. They knew little about industry and less about maritime trade. The caliphs in distant Medina could not have realized the strategic importance of Lebanon. They left it to itself. The preponderant number of village names of Canaanite or Aramaic origin attest the Arabian failure to settle in the area. The Arabic vocabulary used today in agriculture and farming is likewise rich in pre-Arabic terms. Many of the plants, wild and domestic, still bear their ancient Semitic nomenclature.

The way was open for Byzantine raids by land as well as by sea. Constantinople recruited for this purpose irregulars from an obscure town in the Amanus (al-Lukkam) named al-Jurjumah, who, besides conducting marauding incursions on Syria, infiltrated as far as Lebanon. Being rugged, Christian and mountaineers they felt at home in its north, were amalgamated with its Aramaean inhabitants and

became known as Mardaites (rebels). Around these Mardaites as a nucleus, adventurers, fugitives and malcontents clustered to become a thorn in the side of the caliphate. With his hands full with more urgent matters, particularly the civil war against Ali's partisans, Muawiyah found it expedient to pay the emperor a tribute and the Jurajimah a price for good behaviour. His successor Abd-al-Malik (685–705), according to al-Baladhuri, "followed his example". It was under this caliph, Abd-al-Malik, and his son al-Walid (705–15) that the Moslem empire enjoyed its early golden age.

Arabic then replaced Greek as the official language of government bureaus. With the Arabicization of the register went that of coinage. The first purely Arabic dinars and dirhams were then struck. A regular postal service, designed primarily to meet governmental needs, was developed on the basis of early beginnings by Muawiyah. Two monumental shrines, the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and the Dome of the Rock (wrongly referred to as the Mosque of Umar) at Jerusalem, were constructed. The frontiers of the state were pushed under these two caliphs and their immediate successors eastward and westward to the farthest limits ever attained. Constantinople came near falling (716–17). Spain was conquered. The battle between Tours and Poitiers in north-western France in 732 — the hundredth anniversary of the death of the Prophet — marks the halt of the advance of Moslem armies. At no time before or after did the Moslem empire reach such dimensions.

The Jurajimah-Aramaean community was later to receive an additional group from Syria called Maronite. These were followers of an ascetic monk named Maron (Marun), who lived and preached in the wilderness north-east of Antioch. The verified facts about the life of the patron saint of the new church can be condensed into one brief paragraph. The earliest source, in Syriac, credits him with having

"planted the garden of ascetic life" in the area. The "Maron the monk", whose prayer and news John Chrysostom, renowned patriarch of Constantinople, solicited in an epistle (*ca.* 404) may be the same Maron. But St. Maron was a member of the Syrian Church, using Syriac and probably ignorant of Greek.

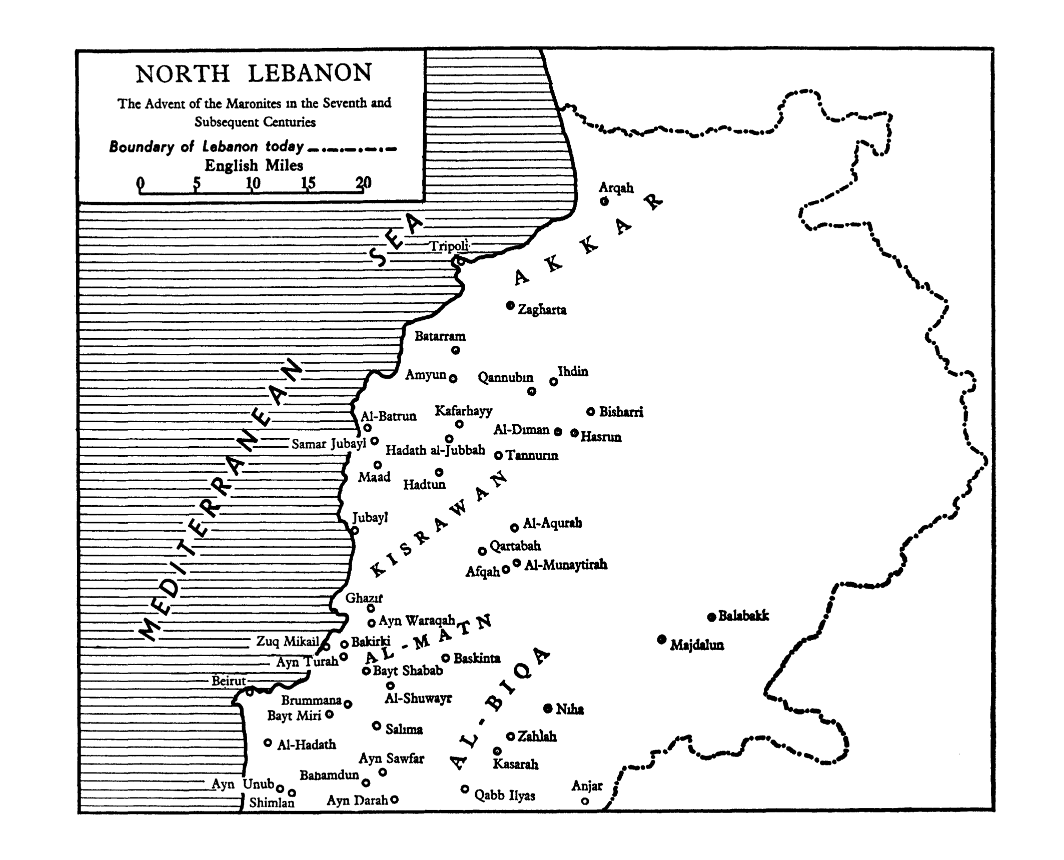
Shortly after his death St. Maron's disciples, probably because of conflict with the Greek Church centred in Antioch and Constantinople, moved to what is today Qalat al-Madiq on the Orontes. There they won many converts but encountered a new rival and enemy, the Jacobites. The Jacobites formed the west branch of the Syrian Church and were deeply entrenched in north Syria and Mesopotamia. Their organizer was Jacob Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa (d. 578), and their theology was Monophysite, which, as already noted, maintained that in Christ the human and the divine constituted but one composite nature. The eastern branch of the Syrian Church, popularly known as Nestorian, was anchored in Persia. Nestorius of Cilicia and patriarch of Constantinople (d. 431) taught that in Jesus the divine person (Logos) and the human were joined in perfect harmony of action but not in the unity of a single individual.

In 659, according to a Syriac source, the Maronite-Jacobite controversy was brought before Muawiyah and the two sides argued their cases. Shortly after that bands of Maronites migrated to north Lebanon to be fused with its Christian community and give it their name. A few Christians there did not belong to the Syrian Church, judging by a Greek inscription in the oldest church of Ihdin and the Byzantine style of architecture in more than one old church. But the region became and remained headquarters of Maronitism. From those headquarters followers of St. Maron spread and became until the present a dominant force in Lebanese affairs. The 1956 official figures make the Maronites 422,000 and the total population of the republic

1,412,000. This does not include Maronite early settlements in Syria, Palestine and Cyprus, nor the later ones in Egypt, North and South America and other parts of the world.

If St. Maron was the founder of the Maronite Church, Yuhanna Marun (d. *ca.* 707) was its hero and father of its nation, using the term in its pre-modern connotation. Yuhanna was born near Antioch and educated there and in Constantinople. He knew Syriac and Greek, joined the monastery on the Orontes and in 676 was consecrated as bishop of al-Batrun, on the Lebanese coast, and later as first patriarch of his Church. For seat he chose Kafarhayy, ten miles east of the town of al-Batrun. With one arm he held back the Damascus caliph, with the other the Constantinople emperor. To Constantinople the new sect was dissident and could not be readily used against Moslems. When in 694 Justinian II's troops destroyed its Orontes monastery and moved against Lebanon, the patriach led his people in combat and routed the enemy at Amyun. Then and there the Maronite nation may be said to have been born. It began to develop traits of exclusiveness and solidarity that no other Lebanese community developed until the rise of Druzism. The Maronite "humble nation" in the words of Edward Gibbon, the eighteenth-century English historian, "survived the empire of Constantinople, which persecuted it".

Yuhanna's successors in the patriarchate moved their seat in the mid-fifteenth century to Qannubin, a monastery carved in the solid rock of the Qadisha valley. Now Bakirki near Beirut provides the winter residence, al-Diman near the famous cedar grove the summer seat. But the incumbent still styles himself "patriarch of Antioch and the rest of the Orient". The present patriarch is sixty-seventh in the series. Five other clerics carry the title patriarch of Antioch: a Greek Orthodox, a Greek Catholic, a Maronite and two Syrian Catholics, of whom the Greek Orthodox appears to


NORTH LEBANON
The Advent of the Maronites in the Seventh and Subsequent Centuries
Boundary of Lebanon today
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AKKAR
KISRAWAN
AL-MATN
AL-BIQA
Arqah
Tripoli
Zagharta
Batarram
Amyun
Qannubin
Ihdin
Bisharri
Al-Batrun
Kafarhayy
Al-Diman
Hasrun
Samar Jubayl
Hadath al-Jubbah
Tannurin
Maad
Hadtun
Jubayl
Al-Aqurah
Qartabah
Afqah
Al-Munaytirah
Ghazir
Ayn Waraqah
Balabakk
Majdalun
Zuq Mikail
Bakirki
Ayn Turah
Baskinta
Bayt Shabab
Beirut
Al-Shuwayr
Brummana
Bayt Miri
Niha
Salima
Zahlah
Al-Hadath
Ayn Sawfar
Kasarah
Babamdun
Ayn Unub
Shimlan
Ayn Darah
Qabb Ilyas
Anjar

have the best claim. None of them has his seat in the sleepy Turkish town now called Antioch.

Next to Maronites, the Greek Orthodox, numbering (1956) 149,000, constitute the largest Christian community in Lebanon. This sect dominates the Kurah district and flourishes in al-Matn and Beirut. Originally Syrian Christians, its adherents followed the Greek theology emanating from Antioch and Constantinople and therewith secured orthodoxy, escaped excommunication and even obtained protection from church and state. The communion drew recruits from city dwellers and from descendants of Greek colonists. Early they gave up Syriac in the liturgy for Greek, which they still use, following the Byzantine rite. This liturgy, revised by St. John Chrysostom, is ascribed to St. Basil (d. 379), bishop of Caesarea (Cappadocia). In the late seventh century they became known as Melkites ("royalists").

Strangely enough this designation is now used exclusively by the group which in 1724 detached itself from this communion and became attached to Rome. This development resulted from Catholic missionary activity. Greek Catholic Melkites persist in the pursuit of the Byzantine rite with its Greek liturgy, mentioning the pope in the mass. Zahlah, the largest Lebanese inland town, is their stronghold. In 1956 they numbered 90,000 and were slightly exceeded by Armenians (Gregorian and Catholic) the bulk of whom, however, came as refugees from Turkey subsequent to the first World War. Other than these, Lebanon's Christian population includes 25,000 Protestants and a few thousands of the Syrian (Suryan) Church.

Towards the end of the Umayyad period the Lebanese Christian community was reinforced by emigrants from Syria escaping disabilities imposed upon dhimmis by Umar ibn-Abd-al-Aziz (717–20). This caliph, conspicuous for his piety among the Umayyads, was the first to enact discriminatory

legislation against dhimmis. Thereby Christians were excluded from public offices, required to wear distinctive clothes, ride without saddles and erect no new places of worship. An exodus followed to Mount Lebanon. A number of Lebanese Maronite families — such as the Khazins, Simanis, Shidyaqs, about whom we shall hear more later — trace their ancestry to Syria.

With ibn-Abd-al-Aziz the second victory of Islam, Islam the religion, was accelerated. The first victory, it will be remembered, was that of Islam the state. The two made the third and final victory of Islam the language (Arabic) inevitable. Lebanon, however, remained an islet in a sea of Islam. Even the linguistic sea was not to overwhelm it for centuries to come. Villages in its north persisted in the use of Syriac until the seventeenth century. Syriac, as noted before, is still the language of the Maronite liturgy. This liturgy is ascribed traditionally to St. James, brother (cousin?) of Christ. The West Syrian Church (Jacobite) and the East Syrian (Nestorian), with their ramifications, also use Syriac (Christian Aramaic) in their churches. Lebanese colloquial is distinguished from other Arabic dialects by its richness in Syraicisms. In three villages of Eastern Lebanon the ancient Semitic tongue has survived to the present as a spoken language.

Of the non-Christian sects the Druzes, until the proclamation of Greater Lebanon (1920), played the leading role on the Lebanese stage. The cult was born in Cairo, cradled at Wadi al-Taym (at the western foot of Mount Hermon) and spread as far as Khurasan and al-Sind, but today flourishes only in south Lebanon from which emigrants established a second home in Hawran (southern Syria).

The sect owes its name to al-Darazi ("tailor"), a Turk from Bukhara who served as tailor in the court of al-Hakim (996–1021), sixth Fatimid caliph-imam in Cairo. Its devotees, however, prefer the designation Muwahhidun ("uni-

tarians", the "One" being al-Hakim). The Fatimids (909–1171) claimed descent from Fatimah and belonged to the Ismaili branch of the Shiah, the branch that emphasized the imamate of Ismail (d. 760), seventh successor of Ali. These ultra-Shiites went as far as exalting Ali and his successors above Muhammad — the imamate above prophecy —, whence the leap to endowing the imam with divine attributes became rather easy. The step bridged the gap between finite humanity and infinite divinity. Al-Hakim took that final step (1016–17) and found in al-Darazi a ready and convincing spokesman.

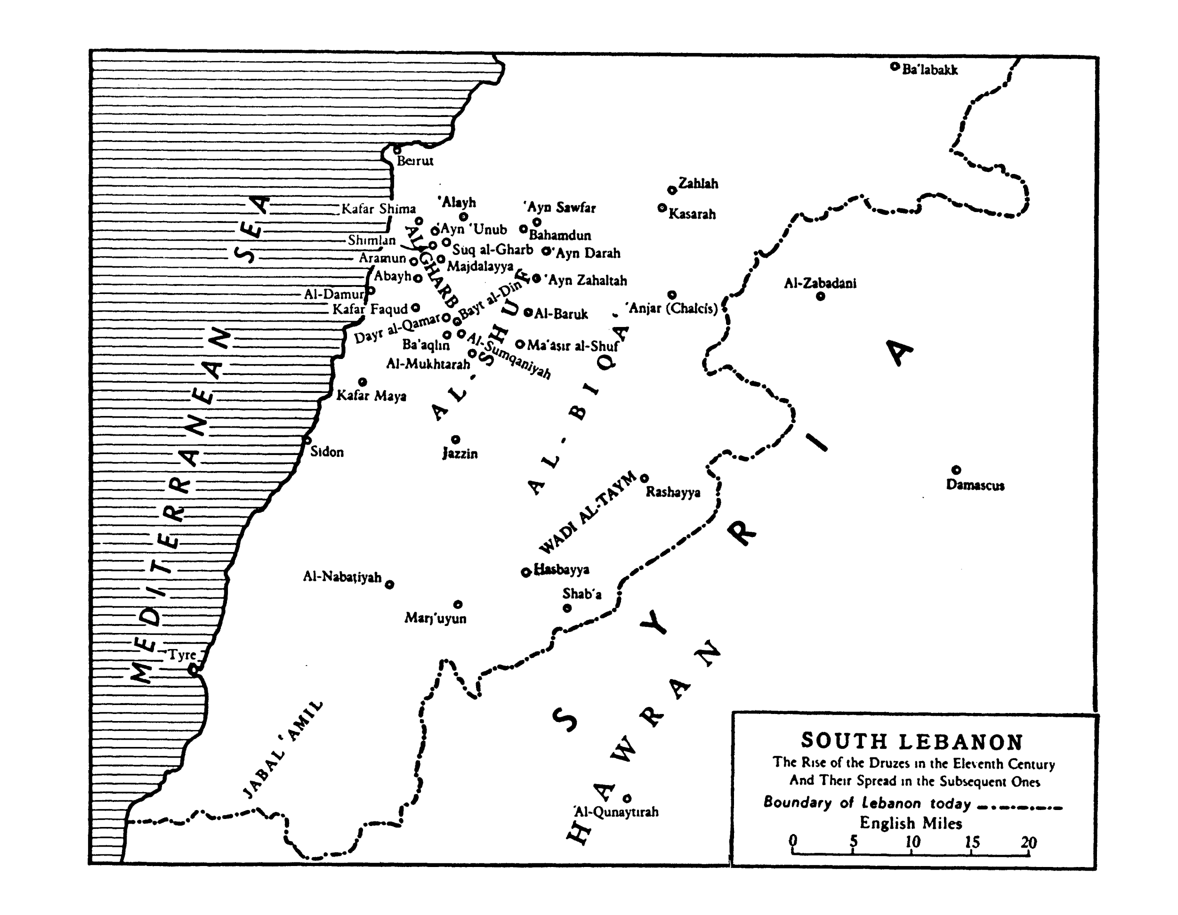
As supreme ruler of Egypt, North Africa, Syria-Lebanon-Palestine and western Arabia, al-Hakim committed irreconcilable acts of violence and benevolence that make him one of the enigmatic personages in history. He restored and intensified the discriminatory laws against dhimmis, enacted by the Umayyad ibn-Abd-al-Aziz and revived by the Abbassid al-Mutawakkil (847–61) in Baghdad. Christians and Jews were not only disqualified from holding public offices but required to wear black robes and black turbans and forbidden from riding horses. The son of a Christian mother, al-Hakim demolished the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, adding to the tension between Islam and Christendom and ultimately leading to the Crusades. His puritan ordinances prohibited women from beautifying themselves, confined those of them in cities to their homes and banished all musicians and singers. The other side of the picture portrays al-Hakim as a patron of learning, founder of the House of Wisdom for teaching, research and translation, builder and endower of mosques and establisher of foundations for scholars and for the poor. His Cairo mosque is one of the show places of the capital frequented by tourists. Al-Hakim's eccentricities were taken as a sign of his superhumanity. Christians have often done likewise with their saints.

The career of al-Hakim ended as mysteriously as it had

begun. One dark night in February 1021, as he rode on a donkey to his observatory outside of his capital, he was set upon and . . . "disappeared". He went, his disciples asserted, into a state of occultation, whence he would return triumphant at the opportune time. Both Sunnah and Shiah will then be crushed, his religion will prevail and justice will fill the world. Millennial expectations, under a Mahdi ("guided one"), were not new with the Shiah. In their origination and development they correspond to Judaeo-Christian Messianic expectations.

Wadi al-Taym was the only district where Druzism struck permanent roots. It was introduced there by al-Darazi, who in 1019 fell in battle, probably against rivals one of whom might have been his successor in missionary activities. This was a Persian furrier from Khurasan named Hamzah. What predisposed the people at Wadi al-Taym to accept and retain the new faith may be only conjectured. Probably they were already Shiites if not Ismailis, and as peasants must have suffered economic disabilities and felt frustrated because of the delay in the appearance of the expected Mahdi to usher for them a new era of prosperity.

Hamzah became the brains of the movement. He worked out its dogmas, expounded its theology and gave esoteric meaning to its formulation. Esotericism, an old device in Islam, endows the scriptures with an inner meaning other than the apparent. Christians practised it in such a book as the Song of Songs. Building on the foundations laid by al-Hakim, who had given up Islamic practices, Hamzah cut the nascent creed entirely loose from its mother-Islam. The new moral code he introduced was simple and free of ritualism. It comprised seven precepts: devotion to truth (especially when dealing with fellow-believers), concern for one another's safety, renunciation of all old faiths, detachment from those living in error, recognition of the existence of the divine principle in humanity, adherence to the works


SOUTH LEBANON
The Rise of the Druzes in the Eleventh Century
And Their Spread in the Subsequent Ones
Boundary of Lebanon today
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
HAWRAN
AL-BIQA'
AL-SHUF
AL-GHARB
WADI AL-TAYM
JABAL 'AMIL
Ba'labakk
Beirut
Zahlah
Kasarah
'Alayh
'Ayn Sawfar
Kafar Shima
'Ayn 'Unub
Bahamdun
Shimlan
Suq al-Gharb
'Ayn Darah
Aramun
Majdalayya
Abayh
'Ayn Zahaltah
Al-Damur
Bayt al-Din
Kafar Faqud
Al-Baruk
'Anjar (Chalcis)
Al-Zabadani
Dayr al-Qamar
Ba'aqlin
Al-Sumqaniyah
Ma'asir al-Shuf
Al-Mukhtarah
Kafar Maya
Sidon
Jazzin
Rashayya
Damascus
Hasbayya
Al-Nabatiyah
Shab'a
Marj'uyun
Tyre
'Al-Qunaytirah

of Our Lord (al-Hakim) and absolute resignation to his will as manifested through his ministers.

Hamzah also met a violent death, shortly after al-Darazi, and his work was continued by al-Muqtana Baha-al-Din (d. 1042). Judged by his epistles Baha-al-Din was of Christian Syrian origin. His epistles were addressed to India, Byzantium and other places. In his first one to the Byzantine emperor he evidently had in mind the possibility of joint effort against Moslems in the Aleppo-Antioch area, where Druzism had spread and faced trouble. His and Hamzah's writings form the bulk of Druze scriptures.

Before the end of his life Baha-al-Din must have come to the conclusion that the world was not yet ready for the rich promises held by the new religion. Since then the "door has been closed" in the face of those seeking entrance or exit. Loopholes, however, must have been found or made for the admission of such prominent Arab families as the Arislans and Janbalats, who presently form the aristocracy of Druze society. The sacred books have since become secret books. They are kept in manuscript form. Only the few initiate, *uqqal* ("intelligent"), have access to them. The uqqal follow a rigorous, puritanical code. They abstain from drink and smoke, refrain from abusive language, shun unlawful gain and conduct themselves with dignity and decorum. They can be outwardly distinguished by heavy white turbans, coarse woollen abas and white untrimmed beards. Qualified women are admissible to the religious hierarchy. The bulk of the community have remained *juhhal* ("ignorant", uninitiated). Druzism went underground, the way other persecuted minorities before and after it went in quest of security. To Sunnites and Shiites the schismatic sect was a heresy. To the Nusayris, another ultra-Alid heterodoxy but today centred in Latakia, it was no less of an enemy. South Lebanon provided a home for a lost cause. Al-Shuf district is today the Druze stronghold. In Lebanon Druzes numbered, in 1956, 88,100 but the influence they have exercised, by virtue

of being a closely knit, disciplined community, has been out of proportion to their number. The electoral law apportioning seats to the 1956 chamber of deputies on a denominational basis allotted them six out of ninety-nine. Tradition gives them two seats in the cabinet.

Druzes use no mosques, pay no legal alms (*zakah*), observe no Ramadan fast, offer no five daily ceremonial prayers and undertake no pilgrimages to Mecca. They have their own shrines to which local pilgrimages are made. A shrine commemorating the burial place of Abdullah al-Tanukhi (d. 1480) in Abayh (al-Shuf) is visited annually by barefooted hundreds, mostly women, from the neighbourhood. Al-Sayyid ("our lord"), as he is popularly known, was the last great commentator on Baha-al-Din. Druzes practise monogamy like their Christian neighbours, but divorce is easy. Religious gatherings are held Thursday evenings in inconspicuous small buildings (*khalwahs*, "secluded places"), usually on hilltops, where scriptures are read and expounded and problems of communal interest are discussed. When the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha in the 1830s invaded the country his army pillaged certain important *khalwahs* whose manuscript contents for the first time were exposed to the learned world.

Shiites in Lebanon are known as Matawilah ("friends" of Ali), numbered, in 1956, 250,000 and today flourish in Sidon, Baalbak and their vicinities, incorporated with Lebanon in 1920. The cardinal doctrine of this religio-political group, to repeat, is the firm belief that Ali and Ali's sons are the only legitimate caliphs, rather imams, making all others — particularly Umayyads and Abbasids — downright usurpers. To the Shiites the imam is more than a secular head of a state, which is the Sunnite view. He is rather the spiritual and religious head of the world of Islam, deriving his authority from on high and transmitting it to his progeny with no regard to the consent of the peoples. Extremists among Shiites took the fatal step and made the imam an

incarnation of the deity. This made them anathema to orthodox believers. Shiites today occupy almost all Iran and share about half of Iraq. After Ali's death they became deeply involved in seditious movements and in the mid-eighth century joined the coalition headed by the Umayyads' rival cousins, the Abbasids, naïvely assuming that the Abbasids were fighting the Alids' battle. Present-day Sunnites in Lebanon far exceed Shiites in number and excel Druzes in influence.

UNDER ABBASIDS AND SUCCESSOR STATES

The displacement of the Umayyads by Abbasids in 750 was more than a routinely dynastic change; it marked the termination of a whole era in Islamic history and the commencement of another. In the new era the hegemony of Syria ended and that of Iraq began. The glory of Damascus faded before that of Baghdad. Muawiyah and his successors counted on the loyalty of Syrians — still predominantly Christians —, abu-al-Abbas and his successors on Iraqi-Persian loyalty. The centre of Islamic gravity, first in Hijaz, shifted northward and now to the east. The model was no more Byzantine; it became Persian. Gradually the old Arabian aristocracy based on blood and sword was replaced by one of Neo-Moslems of Turkish, Persian and other ethnic origins based on a society in which trade, industry and business played for the first time a role.

Abu-al-Abbas (750–4) was a descendant of an uncle of the Prophet. He owed his success to a coalition of Iraqis, Persians, Alids and other discontented elements and to the incompetence of the last Umayyads. He surrounded his throne with theologians, giving the infant state an aura of religiosity and theocracy as opposed to the defunct state charged with secularism. He also held handy a new official, the executioner, thus reversing the policy of tolerance and persuasion initiated by the founder of the Umayyad caliphate. Abu-al-Abbas earned the title of al-Saffah (blood shedder), by which he became generally known. His first victims were naturally members of the Umayyad house, which he was determined to exterminate. Only one, a nineteen-year-

old prince, contrived to escape. He trudged in disguise for five years through Palestine and North Africa and finally landed in Spain, where he, as Abd-al-Rahman I (756–88), founded the glorious Umayyad dynasty of Cordova. Spain was the first province to be detached from the body politic of the state. The caliphate was no more coterminous with Islam.

Al-Saffah's brother al-Mansur (754–75) was the founder of the capital Baghdad and ancestor of all thirty-five succeeding caliphs. A rebellion headed by two great-grandsons of Ali's son al-Hasan was crushed by him and the brothers were executed. The Abbasid was the longest lived and most celebrated of all Arab caliphates. It attained its acme of might and glory under the fifth caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809) and his son al-Mamun (813–33), whose courts have been immortalized — albeit fictitiously — in stories of the *Arabian Nights*. Persian wines, wives, concubines, vizirs, singers became conspicuous. Al-Mamun himself was the son of a Persian concubine. The court was made more importantly glamorous by caliphal patronage of arts and sciences, rendering Baghdad a leading international centre of learning and the period the early golden age in Arabic literature. In less than three-fourths of a century after its foundation the Abbasid capital could offer Arabic readers translations of sample literary and scientific treasures from Persian and Indian authors and more significantly the chief philosophical works of Aristotle and Neo-Platonists and the medical works of Galen.

Christian Syrians served as main translators from Greek. The intellectual activity was centred in the House of Wisdom, a combination of translation bureau, teaching and research institute and library, founded by al-Mamun. This was the earliest institution of higher learning in Islam and served as a model for those established by al-Hakim in Cairo.

Baghdad was at no time able to win or hold the allegiance of Syrians or Lebanese. Syrian hopes for an Umayyad

comeback became personalized in an expected appearance, Mahdi-like, of a member of the family who, however, never did appear. In Lebanon the first open anti-Abbasid outbreak (759–60) centred in a high mountain village, al-Munaytirah, near Afqah of Ishtar-Tammuz repute. It was led by a youth of burly physique who styled himself king. Exasperated by the exactions of the Abbasid taxgatherer these Christian mutineers seized several villages in al-Biqa; but on their way to Baalbak, seat of the governor, they were ambushed and cut down by Abbasid cavalry. Not satisfied, the governor, a brother of the army commander-in-chief at Baghdad, sent his troops against the rebellious villages and dispersed their inhabitants, but did not insist on their Islamization.

The occasion provided a noble-minded jurist of Baalbak, al-Awzai (707–74), with an opportunity to address a scathing protest to al-Mansur:

> The expulsion from Mt. Lebanon of dhimmis who were not a party to the rebellion whose perpetrators were either killed or driven back home has no doubt been a subject of your knowledge. How then could the many be punished by the crime of the few, and how could they be expelled from their homes and lands so long as God Himself has decreed, "Nor doth any sinning one bear another's burden" [Koran 6: 164]? Surely no decree has a greater claim on our final acceptance and permanent obedience. And no command is more worthy of observance and consideration than that of the Messenger of God, who proclaimed: "He who oppresses one bound to us by covenant and charges him with more than he can do, verily I am the one to overcome him by argument".

Al-Awzai moved his residence to Beirut, where today the minaret of his shrine overlooks the airport of the city. Al-Mansur, who developed special admiration for him and consulted him on legal matters, stopped there on the occasion of his holy pilgrimage and heard him preach. True to the cosmopolitan spirit of his Lebanon the system of jurisprudence founded by al-Awzai is considered the most tolerant.

No other Moslem legislator displays comparable sensitiveness to the demands of human brotherhood. His Iraqi contemporary abu-Hanifah, regarded as especially liberal and tolerant, condones cutting down trees of enemy polytheists; but not al-Awzai. Abu-Hanifah does not authorize eating what is slaughtered by an apostate dhimmi, but al-Awzai would. The Awzai's legal system, however, after a two-century vogue in the neighbouring area was superseded by the Hanafite and other rites. In North Africa and Spain it was dominant for about forty years.

Not only Syrian but Lebanese Christians participated in the process of mediating Greek learning to the Arab world. A Baalbakan, Qusta ibn-Luqa, knew Greek, Syriac and Arabic and was credited with translating seventeen philosophical and mathematical Greek works. More than a translator, Qusta was a physician, philosopher and astronomer. To him were ascribed sixty-nine original works. Especially noteworthy was a commentary on Euclid, the earliest of its kind. Qusta's fame reached Armenia and prompted an invitation from its king. There he died about 912 and a monument was erected in his memory.

Shortly before Qusta's time al-Mutawakkil (847–61), Harun al-Rashid's grandson, reactivated ibn-Abd-al-Aziz' anti-dhimmi laws. His new decrees required Christians and Jews to affix wooden images of the devil on the doors of their houses, to sew coloured patches on their clothes and to level their graves even with the ground. It may be assumed that such legislation was not implemented in Lebanon. Baghdad was losing its hold on the provinces, even on itself. Al-Mutawakkil, as well as his immediate predecessors and successors, found it necessary to make Samarra, up the Tigris, their seat in order to escape the threats and uncontrolled conduct of their turbulent bodyguard, consisting largely of Turkish slaves. Returning to Baghdad the caliphs fell under

the thumb of Persian and Turkish (Saljuq) dynasts — all of which provided governors of outlying provinces with opportunities to assert their independence while maintaining nominal allegiance to the caliphate. Caliphs continued to reign but not rule, and the course of the state continued downward. The Abbasid state was committing gradual suicide before a Mongol invader, Hulagu, administered to it in 1258 the *coup de grâce*. Pestilential odours, emitted from accumulating heaps of corpses in the streets of the capital, forced the terrible conqueror to evacuate it temporarily.

As a matter of fact dismemberment of the Abbasid state began early in its career; long before the final collapse. Spain, we learned, was the first to be amputated (756); with it went North Africa. In the east, Persian and Turkish statelets were carved out. In ninth-century Egypt two Turkish dynasties arose, in succession, added Lebanon and its neighbours to their domain and were followed by the mightier and more enduring Fatimid caliphate (imamate, 909–1171). As Shiite Fatimids were pushing north, Sunni Saljuqs were pushing west bringing north Syria and most of Asia Minor under their control.

Again did Lebanon find itself between two millstones. Its coastal towns, as in the remote past, maintained their autonomy under native rulers; retaining nominal dependence on Egypt and a conciliatory attitude toward the lords of the north. The mountainous parts, according to Arab geographers of the tenth century, were a favourite abode of hermits and anchorites practising asceticism and living in extreme poverty. One geographer adds that in the mountains grow all varieties of fruits and vegetables and from it gush copious springs of fresh water. Another, the Palestinian al-Maqdisi (*ca.* 995), describes Baalbak as especially rich in dairy products as well as in superior grapes, and Jabal Amil as productive of the finest quality of honey. Pilgrims as well as geographers were impressed by the intact walls, towers and castles of the coastal towns from Akka to Tripoli. Such

fortifications provided protection against pirates and Byzantines. The ports had chains to block the entrance of unwelcome ships especially at night.

Of special interest is the report of an eleventh-century Persian traveller and Ismaili missionary. Tripoli was distinguished by a luxuriant growth of sugar cane, oranges, bananas and date palms. Its markets displayed meat, fruits and vegetables a hundred times more than those of a comparable Persian town. The city had a population of 20,000 and boasted hostelries rising to a four-to-six-story height. Jubayl, surrounded by high and solid walls, was likewise rich in fruits and remarkable flowers. As the traveller entered Beirut he noticed an eighty-foot-high arch spanning the roadway. Sidon's wall was provided with four gates. Tyre's caravanserais were five to six stories high.

Into this strange and confused picture of smiling economy amidst an encircling political gloom, was injected at the end of the eleventh century a more strange and confusing element: Crusaders from the West.

The Crusaders were so named after the cross they wore as a badge. The venture was initiated by a fiery appeal made in southern France (1095) by Pope Urban II. It was an appeal to rally to the support of the Byzantine emperor, hard pressed even in his capital by Saljuqs who had overrun his Asiatic domain, and ultimately to deliver the Holy Land from "infidel" hands.

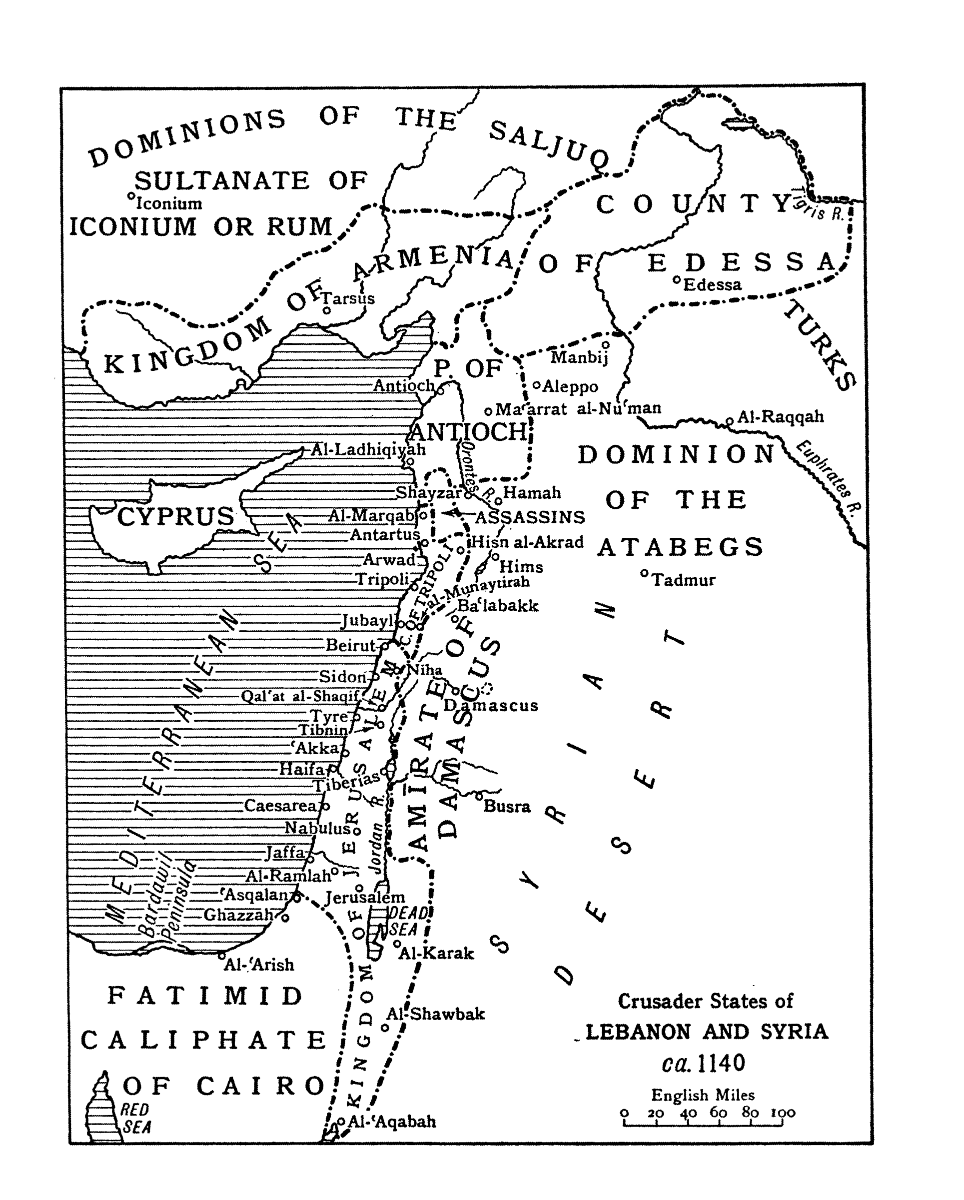
Within two years (1097–9) after the start of the Crusading march from Constantinople, Asia Minor was restored to the emperor, the first Latin state was established — at al-Ruha (Edessa) under Baldwin, leader of the Lotharingians (from Lorraine) — and the second state, that of Antioch under Bohemond, leader of the Normans.

Arqah in Lebanon was soon reached. This strongly fortified birth-place of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus (d. 235) resisted a three-month siege pressed by Raymond of

Saint Gilles (ibn-Sanjil), count of Toulouse. The city was then under an Arab amir of Tripoli, ibn-Ammar, who offered fifteen thousand gold pieces, horses, mules, silk and precious vases as a price for lifting the siege. The amir, in addition, revictualized the invading host to lessen the temptation of despoiling the outlying fields and gardens. Tripoli itself was spared for the time being. This was evidently the most flourishing and most cultured of all Lebanese towns, thanks to the enlightened ibn-Ammar amirate. The amirate had declared its independence from Egypt in 1069 and provided the capital city with an elaborate institute of learning and a hundred-thousand-volume library. Al-Batrun and Jubayl lay in this amirate. In al-Batrun Crusaders had their first contact with the Maronites, who provided sorely needed guides. The cities to the south were under direct Fatimid control. The Saljuqs lacked the naval power to hold or retain them.

In Beirut the cross-bearers spent one night. Following the precedence of Tripoli's amir, Beirut's governor offered enough money and provisions to spare his city and its crops. Sidon's cool and shady orchards provided a welcome relief to the weary marching warriors. There they pitched their strange-looking tents and sent detachments to plunder food-stuffs, flocks and herds. The Fatimid governor offered feeble resistance, but the natives obliged by teaching them how to treat snake and insect bites from which they suffered.

Tyre, whose insular part had served as an important naval base for sallies against Byzantines and pirates and whose mainland part had a triple-wall on the land side and a double-wall on the sea side, was in no mood to put up a fight. Its people had not yet recovered from a heavy massacre for rising the preceding year against their Egyptian overlords. Besides, it had a thriving economy excelled only by that of Tripoli. To its traditional textile industry, it had added that of sugar, now in increasing demand for its dietary and medicinal value. Tyre's island-city enjoyed an ample



Crusader States of LEBANON AND SYRIA *ca.* 1140

supply of fresh water, thanks to a Roman aqueduct part of which is still functioning. True, its traders and mariners had now new and more numerous competitors in Genoese, Venetians, Pisans and Marseillans, but they remained a principal source of national income. The Crusaders depended upon Italian and French ships for fresh supplies and recruits.

In June 1099 the ultimate goal, Jerusalem, was reached. A month's siege sufficed for its capture. Its population was subjected to a promiscuous massacre by men intent upon the possession of the tomb of Christ without possessing him as a living reality. With Jerusalem as headquarters, a large part of Palestine was reduced. On Christmas day 1100 the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was born. Baldwin of Edessa was invited to be its head.

Raymond had returned the year before to Tripoli, then a strongly fortified peninsular city with free access to the sea. The siege was long and hard. In 1103 Raymond constructed on an overlooking hill the castle still standing. This was the first of its kind. An ibn-Ammar emissary went to Baghdad to solicit relief from the caliph. He was cordially received, flattered and fêted, showered with brotherly affection but nothing else. Tripolitans faced starvation; the price of a pound of meat rose to a gold piece. They sought relief in flight. In June 1109 the city fell. The Latin Kingdom now stood at the head of a state to which Edessa, Antioch and Tripoli were loosely attached by feudal ties.

First among the tasks facing the Crusader states was to bring the entire coastal area under effective control. To this end the co-operation of the fleets of the republics of Italy and other European countries was indispensable. In return for furnishing food supplies, war engines and fresh recruits, European seamen received a share of the booty from captured cities and also special quarters where they enjoyed certain privileges. By 1118, when Baldwin I was succeeded by his cousin, Baldwin II, former count of Edessa, the entire

coastal area from al-Aqabah to Beirut had been brought under the control of the kingdom. The Frankish domain then reached its farthest limits. The hinterland, with its large and strongly fortified cities of Damascus, Hims, Hamah and Aleppo, was at no time subjugated.

The task of maintaining the hold of such exotic states on a relatively narrow strip of land against a black background of Islam proved to be no less difficult than creating them. Clearly their existence depended upon continued support from overseas, at best a dubious procedure, and upon adequate land and sea lines of defence. The seaports were ringed by castles on the land sides and provided with towers on the sea side. The towers served as guard and observation posts. Of the nine recognizable today that of Jubayl, south-east of the town, is the most conspicuous. Most of the castles are likewise replacements or renovations of older constructions from Roman, Byzantine or even Phoenician times. The castle of Tripoli was followed by that of Tyre. Jubayl's castle, which displays remains of Phoenician structure, came next. Its ruins are the first to catch the visitor's eye. That of Sidon, Château de la Mer, was used by the sainted French Crusader, Louis IX, between 1250 and 1254.

This coastal chain of towers and forts was seconded by a higher chain on the western spurs or slopes of the mountain intended to guard the strategic passes leading from the Moslem interior to the Frankish seaboard. Most conspicuous among these is Qalat al-Shaqif (Belfort). Standing like a sentinel on a precipitous rock above the Litani River (Leontes) and overlooking the sea, this castle commands the Sidon-Damascus road. Many of these towers and forts were later repaired and utilized by the Crusaders' Moslem successors, particularly the Mamluks. Some are still standing, a physical reminder of a forlorn and ill-advised venture.

Reaction against the intruders began early but moved at a slow pace. Its initiator and first hero was a Turk from

Mosul (al-Mawsil), Zangi, son of a slave in Saljuq service. After seizing his home town in Mesopotamia, Zangi moved against Syria, occupied Aleppo, added Hims, Hamah, Baalbak and more importantly wrested Edessa in 1144 from the Franks. First among the Crusading states to rise, Edessa was the first to fall. Its fall marked the beginning of the end for the Frankish domain. Zangi was succeeded by his son Nur-al-Din, who carried on the anti-Crusading campaign. Nur's master stroke was the occupation of Damascus (1154). The new Moslem kingdom now extended from the upper reaches of the Tigris to the sources of the Jordan. The last barrier between it and the Latin Kingdom was removed. The spirit of holy war seems to have migrated to the Moslem camp.

Nur was quick to realize that his best chance consisted in putting the Latin state of Jerusalem between the two jaws of the geographical nutcracker. The decrepit condition of Fatimid Egypt offered an open invitation and he was ready to accept. A mission was sent from Damascus to Cairo headed by a general who took along a young nephew named Salah-al-Din (Saladin, "bounty of religion"). Salah was then a student of theology with no appetite for fighting. Born at Takrit, Iraq, of Kurdish parents, he had moved with the family to Baalbak, over which his father had been appointed as commander by Zangi. The trip to Cairo marked the beginning of a new and different career for Salah — a military career ambitiously dedicated to the replacement of the Shiite Egyptian regime with a Sunnite one, uniting Egypt and Syria under one sceptre — his — and then pressing the holy war (*jihad*) against the "infidel" strangers in the heartland of Islam to the bitter end. The first two ambitions of his life were easily attained. In 1171, when the twenty-year-old Fatimid al-Adid died, Saluh managed to succeed him painlessly and peacefully. Three years later, when Nur died and his seven-year-old son was supposed to succeed him, Salah beat him to the Syrian throne. He was

now ready to embark upon the third venture. The hour of peril for the Christian foes struck.

On a flattened hilltop formed by an eastern and a western steep ridge, called the "horns" of Hittin, towering 1706 feet over the Sea of Galilee and designated by tradition as the site of the Sermon on the Mount, the two armies met. It was a hot July day of 1187. The Frankish army was drawn not only from Jerusalem but from its affiliated states. Exhausted by their march and tormented by heat and thirst the heavy-armoured troops were first surrounded by Salah's light-armoured refreshed warriors and then mercilessly cut down, thrown over the steep ridges, taken prisoner or put to flight. The long list of prisoners was headed by Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, and Reginald de Chatillon, lord of al-Karak, a castle on the pilgrims' route to Mecca. The king was treated in a manner befitting his rank, but the lord deserved a different treatment. He had made it his business to molest Moslem pilgrims and even contemplated an audacious raid on Mecca. Salah had sworn to slay him with his own hand. He did.

The victorious army continued its march along the coast through Jaffa and Akka to Lebanon. Sidon surrendered. Beirut and Jubayl followed suit. Only Tripoli and Tyre resisted. In 1190 al-Shaqif, mightiest of Lebanese castles and garrisoned by Templars — that knights' order which was organized to protect pilgrims to the Holy Land and had its first quarters on the site of Solomon's Temple — capitulated. The end seemed near — an optic illusion.

The news of Hittin and its aftermath reached and shook Europe. Three mighty potentates, red-bearded Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, lion-hearted Richard of England and war-minded Philip Augustus of France, were moved to take the cross. Their choice fell on Akka as the key to the restoration of the shattered domain.

For two full years beginning August 1189 Akka furnished

the stage for a spectacular duel between the hero of the East, Salah, and the hero of the West, Richard. Latin and Arabic annals consider the land and sea operations against the Moslem-held city among the major ones of medieval times. Throughout, the city was on the defensive. Finally it yielded. With Akka as a base other towns were restored. On November 2, 1192, a peace treaty was concluded acknowledging the east from Tyre southward as Frankish but the interior as Moslem. Palestine was partitioned as in 1948.

Richard returned home. Salah died the following year. His tomb in Damascus is one of the most revered and visited spots in the present-day Syrian capital. His name has lived in fiction and fact as the paragon of Arab chivalry.

With the death of the unifier of a substantial realm of Islam, the realm was parcelled out among his sons, brothers and brothers' sons. The Egyptian branch of the Ayyubid dynasty — so-called after Salah's father Ayyub (Job) — maintained itself for a time, but the Syrian branch was hastily fragmented. Dynastic squabbles gave the enemy its chance. Beirut was recovered in 1197 (after ten years of Moslem possession), Sidon with its al-Shaqif in 1240 and even Jerusalem before that in 1229. Fresh recruits arrived from Europe. Their most distinguished leader was King Louis IX of France. Louis spent four years (1250–54) fortifying Jaffa, Caesarea, Akka and Sidon. Among all Crusading leaders, his was the noblest character. He was deservedly sanctified after his death.

On the other side the body of Islam was becoming anaemic. It required blood transfusion. The transfusion came, from utterly unpredictable quarters. Turkish, Mongolian and Circassian slaves (sing. *mamluk*), introduced into the area to serve the Ayyubid-Egyptian court, supplanted their masters and became the new champions of Islam and defenders of Arabism. This slave dynasty was an oligarchy in which normally one army officer succeeded another. The

first among them were purchased in the slave markets of Moslem Russia and the Caucasus to form the personal bodyguard of the last Ayyubid sultan, al-Malik al-Salih (d. 1249). Al-Salih's Turkish slave Aybak married his master's widow and succeeded him in the sultanese (1250–57). One early Mamluk sultan Lajin (1296–8) is said to have been originally a Crusading knight. Each Mamluk maintained a bodyguard of slaves, including Armenians, Kurds, Slavs and varying from 4000 to 24,000 in number. The regime Aybak initiated lasted until the advent of the Ottoman Turks in 1517.

The Mamluks inherited a rejuvenated foe from the West and faced a new and potentially more formidable one from the East. For reasons that can only be surmised thirteenth-century central Asia spilled out one wave of Mongol hordes after another, war-like, low-cultured and rich in horses for mobility. Nothing stood in their way. Chingiz Khan led the van. When he died in 1227 the empire he left extended from eastern China to Iran and the Indus valley. No such world-empire builder was known to Oriental history before. Chingiz' grandson Hulagu started where his grandfather had ended. Hulagu, it will be recalled, was the destroyer of the Abbasid caliphate and its capital (1258). The fifty thousand Baghdadi men, women and children he put to the sword illustrates his style of making war. The turn of north Syria came next. Latin Antioch was reduced virtually to a Mongol satellite. The pope and the French king considered a Mongol alliance against the common foe, Islam. In Lebanon Baalbak was destroyed; Sidon, more than destroyed, was reduced to a heap of ashes. Sister cities would have presumably suffered the same fate but for the death of Hulagu's brother in Iran, necessitating his hasty return.

Sensing the pending danger Cairo dispatched a general, Baybars, heading a force to meet the enemy on foreign soil. In a battle near Jaffa (1260) Baybars dealt a crushing defeat to the Mongol army, chased its remnant back to Syria and

added the country to the Mamluk realm. On his triumphal march homeward Baybars treacherously stabbed his sultan-master and usurped his throne.

Fourth in the series, Baybars (1260–77) was the real founder of Mamluk power and the continuer of the Zangi-Salah anti-Crusading tradition. Born in central Asia he was first sold into the Damascus market for 800 silver pieces but his master returned him on discovering a defect in one of his blue eyes. Al-Malik al-Salih bought him from Hamah. Baybars directed such attacks and sieges on Crusader castles, held by Templars or Hospitallers, that made one after the other yield. The operations began with al-Karak in the south in 1263 and ended with Antioch in 1268. In Lebanon al-Shaqif of the Templars sustained a five-week siege.

The fall of Antioch, second oldest among the Latin states, marked a new milestone on the way to final victory. The city with its ancient citadel and world-renowned churches was given to the flames. Of its population 16,000 were put to the sword and some 100,000 led into captivity. A lad fetched twelve silver pieces, a maid five. So great was the booty that money was measured out by the cup among the soldiers.

Three years after Antioch Hisn al-Akrad (Crac des Chevaliers) of the Hospitallers surrendered after a fifteen-day siege. Housing some two thousand men and guarding the strategic Tripoli–Hims pass, Hisn was the strongest and largest of the castles. It is still the most admirably preserved fort. The Hospitallers were a religious military order founded in a Jerusalem hospital before the Crusades and, with its sister order of Templars, became the fist of the mailed Crusades.

Baybars' second successor Qalawun (1279–90) was equally energetic and zealous. Like Baybars, Qalawun was born in central Asia and as a slave fetched a thousand (*alf*) gold pieces, whence his surname al-Alfi. One of his early feats was the reduction (1285) of al-Marqab, a formidable coast-fort held by Hospitallers. Its knights were disarmed and

escorted to Tripoli, one of the two remaining Frankish posts of military importance. What is left of this castle is visible at a distance perching dreadnought-like atop a hill. By putting his head against its outer wall and looking upward the visitor can still see arrowheads embedded between its black basalt stones. Six years later Tripoli itself was stormed after a month's siege and levelled to the ground. In the course of the siege 19 engines and 1500 sappers and miners were employed. Tripoli's castle, we mentioned before, was the first built. The slaughter was general. Even those who escaped to a neighbouring islet were pursued at a favourable time of low tide and annihilated. So oppressive was the odour from corpses that a young Arab historian tells us he could not stand it.

After a month of investment, by Qalawun's son and successor al-Ashraf, in which twenty-two catapults (more than were known to have been employed at any previous siege) hurled stones against Akka's fort and walls, the city was stormed. The date was May 18, 1291. Its Templar defenders, some nine hundred knights, were slaughtered in violation of a safe-conduct granted by al-Ashraf. Besides, the city's armed forces numbered some fifteen thousand foot-soldiers. The same historian who witnessed the Tripoli slaughter reports that Akka was practically wiped off the slate of existence. It was not rebuilt until late eighteenth century. Nothing was left after its fall but some mopping to do along the coast.

Therewith the curtain falls on the last act of the longest and most spectacular drama in the history of the conflict between East and West.

The conflict ceased then, but its consequences had just begun. As a matter of fact some of these consequences on both sides have not ceased. The legacy of ill will between Moslems and Christians is still a living force in the area. On the whole it may be asserted that the benefits that accrued

to the West on both the material and cultural sides, far outweigh those that accrued to the East, which at the same time sustained more of the evil consequences.

On the battlefield of the eastern Mediterranean Franks learned the use of the crossbow, the wearing of distinctive heraldic devices and of heavier armour by knight and horse, the addition of the tabor and naker (both words of Arabic etymology) to military bands and the conveying of secret intelligence by carrier pigeons and by fire signalling at night. The double-headed eagle, the fleur-de-lis and other emblems were borrowed from Moslem knights. In religious as well as military architecture Westerners acquired new techniques. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem were imitated in ecclesiastical buildings of the "round temple" type in England, France, Spain and Germany. On the other hand Moslems inherited the Crusader castles and other fortifications together with cathedral and church buildings which they converted into mosques. Many of these are still used as places of worship. The magnificent Notre-Dame of Tyre, a metropolitan city whose suffragan bishopric extended from Beirut to Petra, was utterly destroyed by al-Ashraf. In Beirut the Church of St. John the Baptist, constructed shortly after the occupation of the city by Baldwin I (1110), is today al-Jami al-Umari, chief mosque of the Lebanese capital. In Sidon part of the Hospitallers' church, dedicated to their patron St. John, is now incorporated into al-Jami al-Kabir, the Grand Mosque of the city. The Crusader church of Jubayl, dating from 1115, is today the Maronite church of Mar Yuhanna (St. John). Farther north, in al-Batrun, the modern church of Mar Yaqub (St. Jacob) preserves a Crusading wall. On a promontory south of Tripoli stands Dayr al-Balamand, now a Greek Orthodox monastery, formerly the Abbaye de Belmont ("abbey of the beautiful mount") built in 1157. Thirty-two years later Qalawun captured Tripoli and either massacred or drove out its Latin monks.

The economies of both Europe and the eastern Mediterranean were, no doubt, favourably affected by the Crusading enterprise. For generations before, pilgrims had frequented the Holy Land and traders visited the area. But now these and other factors already in operation moved into a high gear. Fresh impetus was given to intercommunication in its varied aspects, and trade on an international scale assumed new proportions.

While abroad the Franks were introduced to or acquired a taste for certain native and tropical products. Sesame, rice, lemon, melon, apricots, scallions may be cited as an illustration. With most of the items the Arabic names were introduced into European languages. The marts of the coastal towns were stocked with imported merchandise: attar and rose water from Damascus, rugs from Persia, spices from Arabia, all of which became European favourites. More important than all these perhaps was sugar (*sukkar*), with the cane of which Franks familiarized themselves on the Lebanese maritime plain, where children can still be seen sucking it. Until then honey, rare and precious, was the principal European ingredient for sweetening food and medicine. With sugar went a variety of soft drinks and candy (*qandah*).

Not only did Crusaders find native foods but native clothes preferable for the climate. Men began to cover their bodies with baggy, flowing robes and their heads with shawls. Women wore taffeta or atlas (both Arabic words), sat on diwans (sing. *diwan*), listened to the lute (*al-ud*) and went veiled in public. It should be remembered in this connexion that while the Crusading bridge was open for traffic two other bridges, the Spanish and the Sicilian, were in operation too, making it difficult for us to determine the exact route taken by certain commodities. Returned warriors, pilgrims, sailors and merchants carried back with them baldachin (from Baghdad), muslin (from Mosul), damask (from Damascus), gauze (from Gaza) and other rich fabrics

which in course of time were imitated in France and neighbouring lands. Mirrors of glass replaced mirrors of steel. Oriental luxuries became Occidental necessities. An especially interesting import was the rosary. Originally a Hindu instrument of worship the rosary was introduced into the area by Syrian Christians who transmitted it to Sufi Moslems and finally to the Latins to become a feature in Roman Catholic prayers.

On the cultural level the effects of the Crusading venture were disappointing, especially when it is remembered that the periods of peace were of longer duration than those of conflict. The flow should have been from the higher level, the Moslem, to the lower, the Christian, but two insurmountable barriers, religion and language, stood in the way. Both sides remained virtually immune to cross-fertilization. We know of a few Crusaders who mastered Arabic, but if any Moslem ever mastered Latin or Old French his name must have eluded historical record. Not only would a typical Moslem who spoke the "language of the angels" consider it a condescension to study an "infidel's" language but he could not be convinced it had anything to offer.

The prevailing Moslem attitude toward Western culture found its classic expression in the racy memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh (d. 1188), who fought Crusaders in time of war, fraternized with them in time of peace and enjoyed the intimate friendship of Salah-al-Din, with whom he shared the finest qualities of Arab chivalry.

To Usamah the relatively free sex relations among the Franks, who were "void of zeal and jealousy", were simply shocking. Their methods of judicial ordeal by water or duel were comparatively primitive. Especially crude was their medication. Two members of a Frankish family at al-Munaytirah high in Mount Lebanon were properly treated by a native Christian physician, Thabit, until a European was summoned. The new physician laid the ailing leg of

one of the patients on a block of wood and bade a muscular knight to chop it off with one stroke of the axe. It was not enough. A second blow was administered and the patient expired. The physician then turned to the other patient, a woman, shaved her head, made a deep cruciform incision and rubbed the wound with salt — to drive out the devil. For diet he recommended garlic and mustard. The woman expired, too. Thabit, himself the eyewitness narrator, thereupon asked whether "my services were needed any longer and when they answered in the negative I returned home, having learned about their medicine what I had not known before".

Of all the Latin-Eastern contacts that with the Maronites proved to be the most fruitful and most enduring. Conditioned by the disabilities imposed, especially by the anti-*dhimmi* legislation of the Umayyad Umar, these Christians of Lebanon were especially responsive to Western influences. They offered assistance, as we learned before, to the first Crusaders as they marched through their territory. They later contributed a contingent of archers to the Latin Kingdom. In the Latin states these Lebanese sectarians were accorded first place after Latins and granted the juridical rights and privileges pertaining to Latin bourgeoisie, including the right of possessing land in the kingdom. Many Maronites followed Crusaders to Cyprus, where their descendants constitute a colony of about two thousand. Thus was the foundation for the Franco-Maronite *amitié traditionelle* laid.

According to William of Tyre (d. *ca.* 1190), chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, archbishop of Tyre and author of the history accepted as the standard narrative of Frankish deeds, the Maronites were until then Monothelites — a claim fervently renounced by Maronite scholars who maintain uninterrupted orthodoxy for their church. The Monothelite ("one will") formula, devised by Constantinople's patriarch and promulgated by its emperor Heraclius (638), was

intended as a compromise in the christological controversy that had split the church; it aimed at emphasizing the one will of Christ and ignoring the question of his nature. The fact, however, remains that it was not till then that vital relationship was established between Rome and the "national church of Lebanon". The first known Maronite patriarch to visit the pope in quest of confirmation was Irmiya al-Amshiti (1199–1220), twenty-seventh in the series. In 1268 the pope addressed a letter to the patriarch on behalf of Crusader families who had sought haven in the mountain upon the collapse of the adventure. Oral tradition and such family names as Salibi (crusader), Faranjiyah (Frankish), Bardawil (Baldwin), Duwayhi (Douhai) suggest European origins.

Gradually "reforms", in line with Roman procedure, were introduced especially in liturgy and ordination; but final union was not accomplished until the eighteenth century. Despite the union the church has maintained its autonomy with its Syriac liturgy and non-celibate priesthood.

A Crusading by-product of abiding value was the idea of winning Moslems by persuasion rather than by persecution or force. The military enterprise, having failed to achieve its purpose, was to be replaced by the missionary enterprise. The first missionary order was the Carmelite, founded by a Crusader in 1154 and named after a local mountain. Its members soon spread into neighbouring lands. In Lebanon, Tripoli was chosen as a centre. Early in the thirteenth century two other orders were organized, the Franciscan and Dominican. In 1219 St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the order named after him, landed in Akka coming from Egypt. Shortly afterwards Tripoli became the site of a Franciscan mission and Beirut of a convent. Tripoli was especially hospitable mainly because of the preponderance of Maronites in its surrounding region. A Dominican bishop, William of Tripoli, wrote in 1270 one of the most learned and interesting

medieval treatises on Islam. The treatise brings out points of agreement between the two religions and advocates missionaries rather than warriors for the conquest of the Holy Land. Thus was the missionary concept born and nursed.

Capuchins and Jesuits followed. In and after the seventeenth century these two orders contributed immeasurably to the "uniting of schismatic Christians" with Rome. Of these Uniats Lebanon holds about 15,000 Armenian Catholics and 1500 Chaldeans (split from the East Syrians). Jesuit educational activity in Lebanon was a main factor in its modern awakening and through it the awakening of the region.

LATE MEDIEVAL LEBANON

Of all the lands of the East, Lebanon probably was the worst sufferer because of the Crusades. Mamluk reprisals involved a scorched-earth policy. Certain fortified cities were dismantled. Fearing the enemy's return and realizing the inadequacy of their sea power, the Egyptian sultans blocked Lebanese seaports. Earthquakes and renewed Mongol invasions added their quota of devastation. Between 1260 and 1303 no less than four Mongol waves rolled down the coast, leaving almost all towns between Tripoli and Ascalon in ruins or semi-ruins. The celebrated Moroccan globe-trotter ibn-Battutah wrote in his diary (1326):

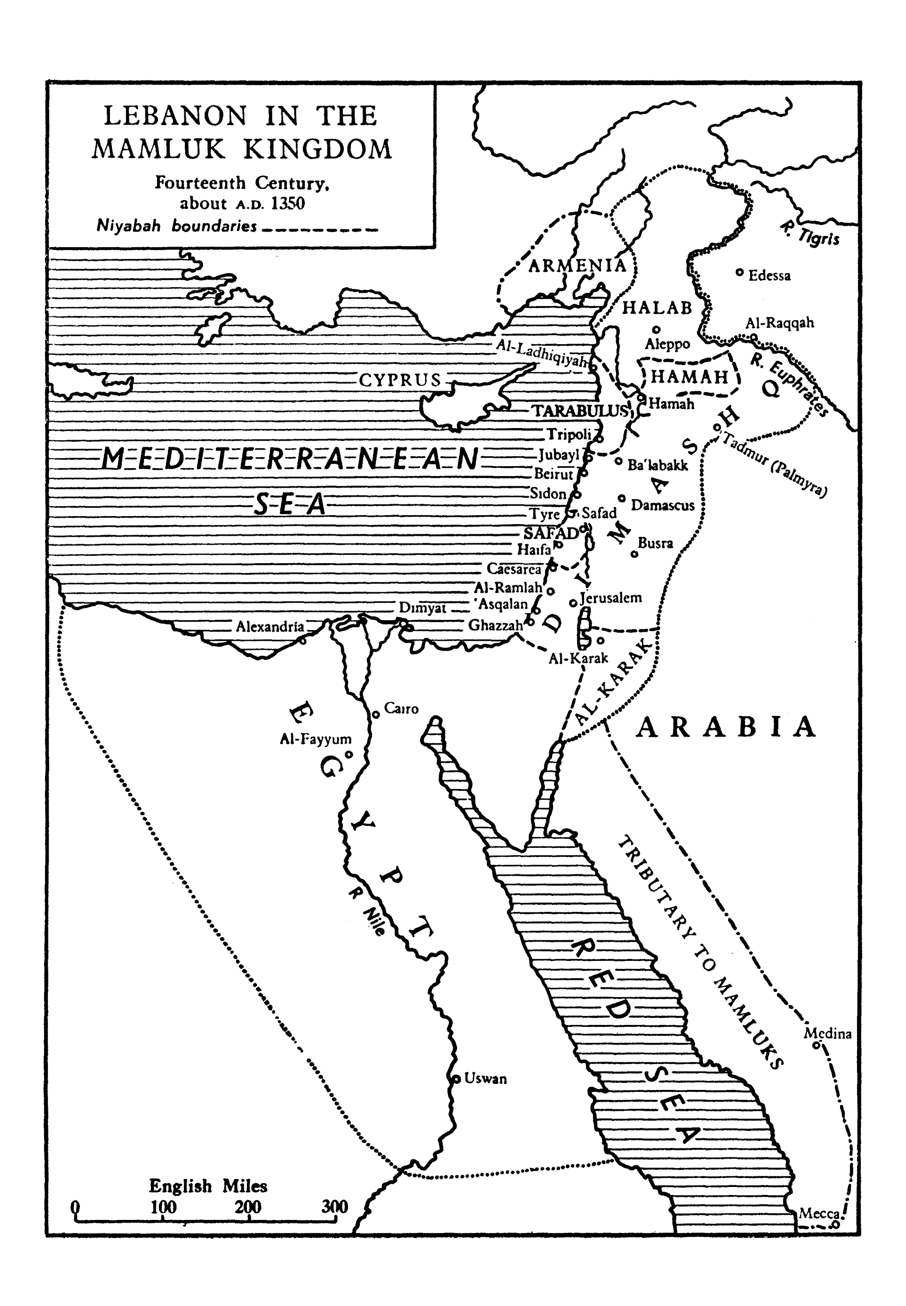
> I journeyed to the fort of Ascalon, now a heap of ruins. . . . Then I arrived in Akka, once capital of the Franks in Syria but now a ruin. . . . Then I journeyed to Tyre, which is a ruin with a populous village outside of it.

Here is a telescopic view of Sidon's experience in and after the Crusading period: in 1107 Sidon purchased an uncertain immunity from a threatened siege; in 1111 it was captured by Baldwin I, 1187 dismantled by Salah-al-Din, 1197 recovered by Crusaders, in the same year regained and destroyed by Moslems, rebuilt by Franks 1228, redevastated by Moslems 1249, restored and refortified by Louis IX 1253, ravaged by Mongols 1260, regained by al-Ashraf in 1291 and razed to the ground. No wonder modern times found this city a miserable caricature of its former self.

By way of reprisal Mamluk sultans reactivated anti-dhimmi legislation of caliphal times. The lately engendered anti-Christian feeling was channelled against the indigenous community. Qalawun's army penetrated to the heartland of Maronitism. It demolished Bisharri, Ihdin and Hadath

al-Jubbah, nestling high up in the mountain in the shadow of the cedars. Reprisals were taken against schismatic Moslems — Shiites and Shiite sects, specifically Ismailis, Nusayris and Druzes — some of whom had compromised their loyalty and given aid and comfort to the enemy. These dissident Moslems may have at that time outnumbered the Sunnites. Their refugees from the systematic decimation in Syria sought haven in Mount Lebanon. There such sectarians could practise their rites, whether in secret or openly. One tenet they held in common: the exaltation of Ali to the point of deification. The Ismailis, devotees of an Ali successor, Ismail (d. 760), acquired now the name Assassins (*hashshashin*, addicted to hashish, hemp) because they committed secret murder supposedly under the influence of hashish. The Nusayris owe their name to an Alid partisan, ibn-Nusayr, who flourished in the ninth century. Their headquarters, Latakia, was made by the French mandate capital of an Alawite state. When Baybars (d. 1277) forced the Nusayris to build mosques, they used the buildings as stables for their cattle and beasts of burden, and whenever a visitor called for prayer from a mosque they would shout: "Bray not, your fodder is forthcoming". Al-Ashraf exacted from the Druzes outward conformity, which did not mean much. They remained a thorn in the side of the established order. In 1300 their bowmen harassed the Mamluk army on its retreat before Mongol invaders advancing from Syria. But they were soon to pay dearly.

Of all Mamluk campaigns against Lebanon those under al-Nasir Muhammad in 1302 and 1306 to 1307, directed mainly against Kisrawan, were the most devastating. This district bears, according to a tradition, the name of an early Maronite prince and then extended south to the Beirut River and east to Sannin and al-Kanisah summits. It had a mixed population of Maronites, Jacobites, Shiites, Druzes and Nusayris. The campaigns were conducted by the Damascus viceroy who recruited troops from Syria and Palestine. The


LEBANON IN THE MAMLUK KINGDOM
Fourteenth Century, about A.D. 1350
Niyabah boundaries
ARMENIA
HALAB
Aleppo
Edessa
Al-Raqqah
R. Tigris
R. Euphrates
HAMAH
Hamah
Al-Ladhiqiyah
CYPRUS
TARABULUS
Tripoli
Jubayl
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Safad
SAFAD
Haifa
Caesarea
Al-Ramlah
'Asqalan
Ghazzah
Dimyat
Alexandria
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ba'labakk
Damascus
Busra
Jerusalem
Al-Karak
AL-KARAK
Tadmur (Palmyra)
DIMASHQ
ARABIA
Cairo
Al-Fayyum
EGYPT
R Nile
Uswan
RED SEA
TRIBUTARY TO MAMLUKS
Medina
Mecca
English Miles
0 100 200 300

outstanding Syrian Moslem theologian of the age, ibn-Taymiyah, offered a religious opinion ranking Druzes and Nusayris as unbelievers, below polytheist Christians. He personally took part in the holy war. At the battle of Ayn Sawfar (today a favourite summer resort) in 1307, a Mamluk army of 50,000 came close to annihilating a Kisrawan contingent of about a fifth its size and proceeded to devastate the neighbouring Druze district of al-Shuf. Men, women and children were slaughtered. Trees were cut down. Almost all the entire coastal strip from Beirut to Tripoli was then divided among three hundred newly introduced Turkoman families.

The Mamluk policy did not succeed in assimilating dissident Moslems but it did nullify their fighting power. More than that it reoriented Lebanon, Palestine and northwest Syria eastward and lowered an iron curtain between East and West which thickened under Ottoman Turks and was not riddled with shots until the nineteenth century.

With the crushing of the dissident spirit among its Christian and Moslem subjects, the Mamluk regime attained the acme of its might. This was the early fourteenth century. The last of the Crusaders had been expelled, the advance of Mongols checked and security was felt in domestic as well as foreign relations. The kingdom stretched from the Taurus to the southern tip of the eastern Red Sea coast and through Egypt to the Libyan Desert. No Arab ruler, East or West, could match the Mamluk in might and extent of domain. It was time for reorganization and consolidation.

In general the Mamluks continued the Abbasid-Fatimid administrative systems as modified by their Ayyubid predecessors. The provincial division was maintained. But Lebanon had to be fragmented. Its northern part went with the province of Tripoli, which comprised the coastal region from north of Latakia to Jubayl. Its southern provinces, together with Tyre, followed Safad. Central Lebanon, including Beirut to Sidon as well as Baalbak and al-Biqa,

was added to the province of Damascus, the largest and most influential. Provinces were under governors or viceroys, each one of whom acted almost independently, maintaining a court reproducing on a small scale that of Cairo. The Tripoli governor outranked that of Safad but was outranked by the Damascus viceroy. The high provincial office received its incumbents from the sultan's body of slaves; they could have been no improvement on their masters. Physique, military prowess and the sultan's favour were the prerequisite qualifications. Short tenure was the rule. Mutual jealousies among governors reduced the chances of self-aggrandizement and of coalition against the central authority. Hardly an official survived an effective period of more than three years. Extravagance, exaction, intrigue and corruption were no less rife in the provincial than in the sultanate court.

The sultans themselves were a sad lot, perhaps the saddest in the annals of Islam. Of the last twenty-two only one had a Moslem father. Both Islam the religion and Islam the culture sat lightly on their hearts and minds, a thin fragile crust on the surface of a cauldron seething with ignorance and ruthlessness. One, Barsbay (d. 1438), had his two physicians beheaded for failing to cure him of a fatal malady. A successor, Inal (d. 1460), could neither read nor write. His name he signed by tracing it over his secretary's handwriting. A contemporary historian thought he could not recite the first chapter of the Koran, a seven-verse prayer required of every believer four times in each of the five prescribed daily prayers. A number of the sultans were murdered or deposed. One of the latter, Barquq, was offered in 1389 by Lebanon its traditional hospitality to political refugees and on his restoration to the throne exempted Qannubin, the monastery seat of the Maronite patriarch, from taxes for its kindness.

As if the miseries brought on by man were not enough, nature, in the form of earthquakes, plagues, drought and

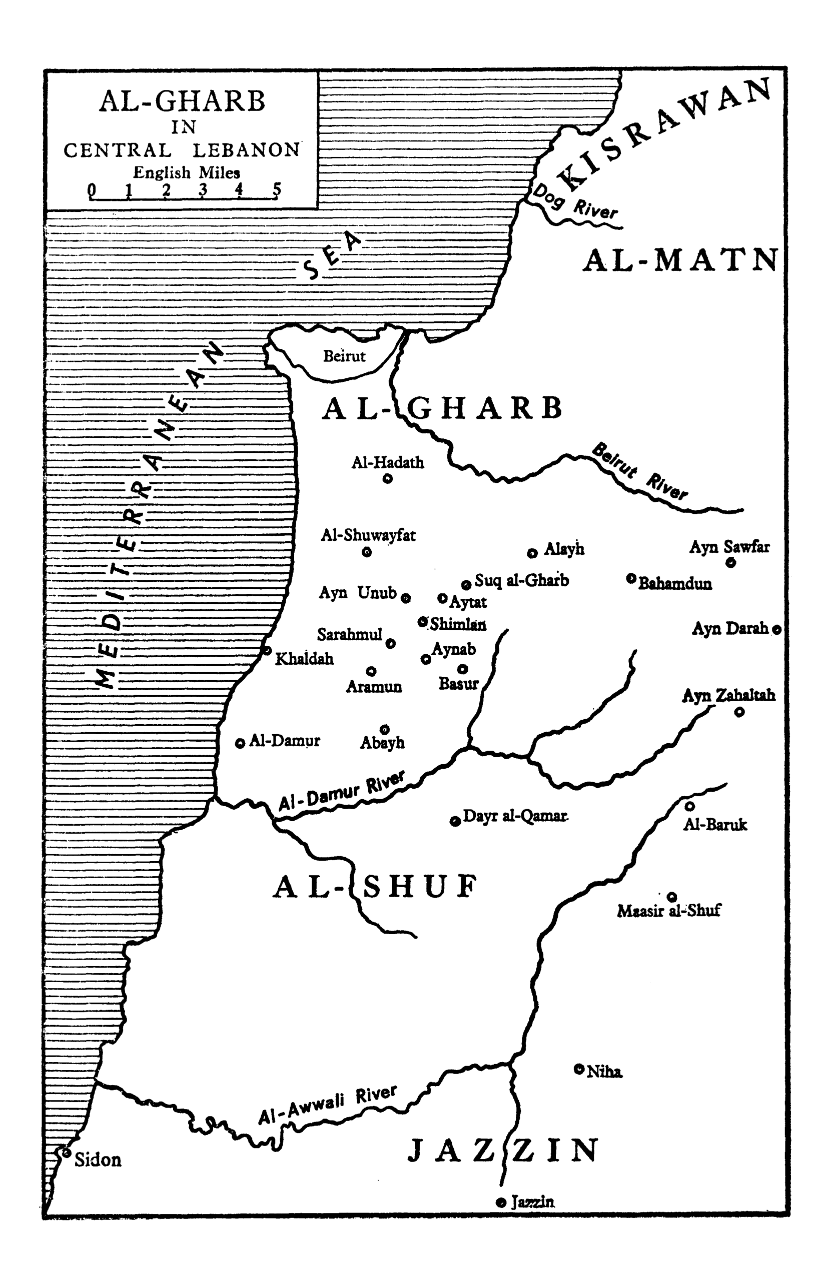
famine, had to add its share. The quake of 1302, in the words of a contemporary chronicler, "buried innumerable people throughout Syria and Egypt"; it made the mountainous sea recede two parasangs near Akka to be dashed with fury against the mainland. The leading historian of the age, al-Maqrizi, an Egyptian of Baalbakan origin, devotes a whole volume to the famines which afflicted the area in 1405, the year he was writing. His fellow-historian ibn-Taghri-Birdi reports at least four plagues of special severity in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth no less than fourteen serious epidemics are reported by different chroniclers, averaging one every seven years. Especially disastrous was the Black Death, which lingered about seven years, spread to and devastated Europe (1348–9) and in its last year carried away some two thousand Damascenes per day. In their two and a half centuries of Mamluk rule Lebanon and its neighbours are said to have lost two-thirds of their population.

Southern and central Lebanon fared politically better. Tyre, a shadow of its former self, was held with its hinterland by local chiefs of the Shiite Amilah tribe. Hasbayya and other towns in Wadi al-Taym, cradle of Druzism, were under the Shihabs, of aristocratic ancestry going back to the Quraysh. The Shuf district, centring in Baaqlin, was under the Mans, of probable Arab origin. Both of these families were to play a leading role in emerging feudal Lebanon. But the immediate limelight was on the Buhturis, of the Tanukh tribe, who held Beirut and al-Gharb. We are fortunate to possess an interesting monograph on the history of Beirut by a member of this family, Salih ibn-Yahya (d. 1436), which illumines the entire age and area.

The Buhturis were entrusted by the Mamluks with the guardianship of that part of the coast with its adjoining mountain against possible Frankish attacks, particularly from Cyprus, last rallying place for Crusaders. The nearby

island was then under the Lusignan kings and extended hospitality to Hospitallers ejected from Akka in 1291. The Buhturis held the district as a fief till the Ottoman invasion. Thanks to their liberal and enlightened policy the semi-autonomous district enjoyed a measure of relative security and prosperity. Though professing Sunnite Islam, the denomination of their Egyptian lords, the Buhturis probably practised the secret Druze rite of their subjects. Under them Beirut was reopened to sea trade, starting its career as port of Damascus and a wider hinterland. The two cities were connected by a branch of the postal system established by Baybars between his Syrian and Egyptian capitals. Christian pilgrims were encouraged to use Beirut as a port of entry and exit to and from Jerusalem. European merchants, principally from the Italian republics, were allowed to open inns (*khans*), public baths and even churches. The city's population may have reached the ten thousand mark, considerable by the standard of the age.

But the Buhturis had no sea power to cope with the Latin flotilla of the Lusignans of Cyprus. The flotilla harassed not only Lebanese but Egyptian shores as well. In 1303 its men carried away a Buhturi amir they caught hunting partridges near al-Damur and exacted a three-thousand-dinar ransom. An attempt to build a fleet on the beach near Beirut, whose pine forest furnished wood and its vicinity the needed iron, was abandoned. Beirut could then export iron to Cairo. In 1381 Sidon was plundered and Beirut attacked by a Genoese fleet. Our historian Salih's father was then its governor. Notice of the enemy's approach was signalled by fire to Damascus. A troop of horse arrived the second evening, too late to take part in the defence. The last among these raids was that of 1404, which resulted in sacking the city, setting it on fire and sending its people scurrying for shelter in the neighbouring mountain. After that it must have been realized that trading held more promise of profit than raiding. Coexistence was the new philosophy for solving



AL-GHARB
IN
CENTRAL LEBANON
English Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5
KISRAWAN
Dog River
AL-MATN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
AL-GHARB
Beirut River
Al-Hadath
Al-Shuwayfat
Alayh
Ayn Sawfar
Suq al-Gharb
Bahamdun
Ayn Unub
Aytat
Shimlan
Ayn Darah
Sarahmul
Aynab
Khaldah
Aramun
Basur
Ayn Zahaltah
Al-Damur
Abayh
Al-Damur River
Dayr al-Qamar
Al-Baruk
AL-SHUF
Maasir al-Shuf
Niha
Al-Awwali River
Sidon
JAZZIN
Jazzin

the East-West problem, with the religiously minded seeking conversion, and the commercially minded utilization.

The feudal system of Lebanon deviated from the Moslem norm. Originally the granting of a fief by a caliph or sultan was intended as a reward for distinguished service, usually military; the fief was held during the pleasure of the grantor. The holder was to provide his lord with an annual revenue and a contingent of troops. But in Lebanon fief holders generally passed on their holdings to members of their own families and furnished no royal troops. We read of a Maronite chief passing his fief to his daughter. The military power of the Buhturis, consisting of ninety horsemen, concentrated on patrolling the Beirut-Sidon coast, employing thirty per day. Not only did a Shihabi prince of Hasbayya in 1332 disobey the sultan's order to send a contingent against rebellious al-Karak, but he fought troops of al-Biqa fief holders, incited against him by the sultan, and destroyed five hundred of them.

Lebanese tenants, unlike their Syrian and Egyptian counterparts, were not serfs. They were free to change location and fief holder. The fief was usually small, one to ten villages. The tenant's share was a fixed part of the produce, varying from two-thirds to three-fourths and averaging one-half in irrigated lands.

Agriculture, of course, was the basic industry. The inland plain, al-Biqa, yielded cereals, the maritime plain fruits and the mountains between wood and herbs — as the three areas still do. A Syrian cosmographer, al-Dimashqi (d. 1327), thought the garden fruits of Tripoli had no equal anywhere and featured medicinal herbs in the mountain. Arab geographers were impressed with the fruit gardens of Beirut and its drinking water conducted by underground channels. Baalbak with its rivers and orchards was compared to Damascus. A German pilgrim, von Suchem (*ca.* 1340), saw north Lebanon as a "mount full of the most delightful trees, fruits and herbage the heart of man can

conceive". The coast as well as the Baalbak plain cultivated the cane and manufactured its sugar. They faced an increasing demand for sugar by Europeans and served as its main supply in the forms of loaf, powder and candy till the end of the Mamluk period.

Manufactured goods featured cotton and silk articles, glassware and pottery. A German pilgrim (1422) reports 1200 weavers in Tripoli, which once boasted 4000 looms. Baalbak produced wool and cotton cloth named after it. Syrian governors would include this fabric among their presents to the sultans. From this city blankets were exported as far as Spain. Sidon maintained a shadow of its former prominence in glassware and pottery.

To the list of exports, comprising several of the above items, should be added soap and olive oil. In exchange Lebanon received imported woollen and cotton goods from the West; pearls and precious stones, pepper and other spices from the East. Beirut had a Florentine colony. A French visitor, de La Rocquière (1432), lodged in the home of a Florentine, bought a robe of white felt "impenetrable to rain" and changed his dress to look "like a Saracen" before resuming his journey. The republic of Florence had since the preceding century maintained consulates in Beirut, Tripoli, Aleppo and Damascus.

The economic picture, in so far as the Lebanese farmer was concerned, was not as rosy as the above sketch would indicate. Government taxes and unsound economic policies tarnished it. Not only beasts of burden and boats, but daily necessities of life, like salt and sugar, were heavily taxed. Currency was at times debased and prices manipulated for the rulers' benefit. To ingratiate themselves with their subjects with whom they had little in common, Mamluk sultans embarked upon ambitious public works, involving mausoleums for themselves, mosques and schools centring in Cairo. This depleted a treasury already drained by keeping a vast

war machine well greased and maintaining for each sultan a huge retinue and bodyguard of slaves. Certain Mamluk structures are among the objects in the showcase of the Egyptian capital.

Of the Lebanese towns only Tripoli seems to have been a beneficiary of such state funds. Four educational institutions were built and endowed in it. The building of one of them, established by a governor of Qalawun, stands today adjoining the Great Mosque. In the Christian districts monasteries were the natural depositories of learning. Had it not been for them the last flicker of Christian culture would probably have been smothered. Monks or priests were the teachers. The church or an annex was the schoolhouse. Religious works were the textbooks. Higher education was limited to the clergy. Among the Maronites Syriac was still the vernacular in out-of-the-way villages. A Franciscan monk, Gryphon, who lived in Lebanon from 1450 to 1474, found it necessary to study both Syriac and Arabic.

Events of world-wide import in the late fifteenth century began to affect the area adversely in the sixteenth. In 1488 an intrepid Portuguese sailor, Diaz, discovered and named what is in translation Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later his fellow-countryman Vasco da Gama accomplished the first all-sea voyage from western Europe to India. East Africa, southern and eastern Asia, with their unlimited resources, could now be reached from the eastern Atlantic by less expensive, albeit longer, routes. A more world-shaking event was in store. In 1492 America was discovered. The centre of world trade began to move westward. International trade routes shifted their positions. Portuguese replaced Near Easterners as middlemen in the Afro-Asian trade. The Mediterranean was no more the "middle sea" implied in its name. It became backwater to a larger body of water. Not much more than land trade could be funnelled through its eastern shores until the opening of the

Suez Canal in 1869. The medieval world was giving way in favour of the modern.

The destruction of the medieval system of communication and commerce synchronized with the destruction of the balance of power in the Near East. For two centuries and a half Mamluk power had been paramount. This was to be no more. On the north-eastern border loomed the spectre of a reinvigorated Persia under a Shiite dynasty, the Safawid; on the north-western that of an emerging Ottoman Turkey, full of vigour and rich in promise. The Ottomans were Sunnites. The Persians had a long tradition of culture and dominion. The Ottomans were originally Turks from central Asia who spoke an Altaic-Ural language and had little culture. But for the last two centuries they had been assimilating Islam and carving a domain, anchored in Asia Minor, at the expense of their Saljuq cousins, and in the Balkans at the expense of the Byzantines. Between these two virile powers the Mamluk looked decrepit.

In the second half of the fifteenth century Ottoman-Mamluk relations began to be strained, with Adana, Tarsus and other border towns as the bone of contention. But the breaking point was not reached till the early sixteenth when Salim I clashed with the Safawids, destroyed their army, occupied Mesopotamia and turned against the Mamluks. Of them Qansawh al-Ghauri (1500–16) had entered into a secret treaty relation with the Safawid shah and harboured Ottoman political refugees. Qansawh moved northward under pretext of intending to act as an intermediary between the two contestants. From north Syria he sent a special envoy to Sultan Salim, who right away shaved the envoy's head — considered a most humiliating insult — and sent him on a lame donkey with a declaration of war.

The Ottoman-Mamluk clash took place on August 24, 1516, on a plain north of Aleppo named Marj Dabiq. The seventy-five-year-old Qansawh fought valiantly but hopelessly. He could neither depend upon the loyalty of his

Syrian governors nor on the efficacy of his armed forces *vis-à-vis* the redoubtable Janissaries with their superior equipment. This was a trained, disciplined, experienced body of infantry, at first recruited from young Christian slaves, to which the Ottomans owed the series of decisive victories leading to supremacy on both sides of the Bosporus. While the Ottoman army depended on heavy artillery, muskets and other long-range weapons, the Syro-Egyptian clung to the outmoded theory that personal valour and hand arms were what counted. Gunpowder, an early Chinese invention, was introduced into Europe by Tartars or Mongols a couple of centuries before this time. Arab chroniclers did not think that God would consider lawful the use of the new fearful weapon of "iron and fire" by a Moslem against a Moslem.

At the first charge the treacherous viceroy of Aleppo deserted with his men. In the thick of battle Qansawh was stricken perhaps with apoplexy and fell from his horse. Salim's victory was complete. In the Aleppo citadel he found the Mamluk treasures estimated in millions of dinars. He proceeded to Damascus. Syria and with it Lebanon and Palestine passed quietly into Ottoman hands, there to remain for four centuries. Egypt came next. In a battle outside of Cairo (January 1517) a faint attempt at resistance by Qansawh's successor was crushed. With Egypt went its possessions in Arabia, including the two holy cities. An old era, Arab, ended; a new one, Ottoman, began.

WITHIN THE OTTOMAN CRESCENT

The Ottoman dynasty, which overran the Arab lands and claimed successorship to the Arab caliphate, had a modest beginning (*ca.* 1300) as a petty Turkish state in western Asia Minor (Anatolia). Its eponymous founder, Uthman (Osman, hence Ottoman), bore a name which indicates his profession of Islam. As Turks, affiliated with Mongols in central Asia, these people had started with an illiterate culture, an animistic religion and a nomadic way of life which landed them in the territory of Islam. Adventurous and warlike they inched their way up to dizzy heights of success. Their conquests in western Asia and south-eastern Europe culminated in the capture of Constantinople in 1453 and the annihilation of Byzantine power. What the Arabs had coveted for centuries but failed to achieve was accomplished by these later champions of Islam and builders of one of its greatest and most enduring empires.

With the adoption of Islam, the Ottomans absorbed much of its culture — science, art, philosophy, literature, vocabulary — Arabic and in a less measure Persian. Arabic script was used by them till replaced (1928) by Latin on Mustafa Kamal's orders. From the Byzantines they acquired practices relating to statecraft and political institutions. Their intermarriages, especially with their Greek-speaking subjects, radically changed their ethnic structure.

The dynasty founded by Uthman attained its apex of might and affluence under Salim (1512–20), conqueror of the Arab East, and under his son Sulayman (1520–66), conqueror of the Balkans and North Africa. All twenty-seven of Salim's successors were his direct descendants. On his vic-

torious return to his capital Salim had in his retinue one al-Mutawakkil, who claimed to be an heir to the defunct Abbasid caliphate. This series of pseudo-caliphs was started (1261) by Baybars, who picked a scion of the Abbasid house and installed him in Cairo as a puppet-caliph to boost his Mamluk regime. Al-Mutawakkil had accompanied Qansawh on his ill-fated campaign to Syria. It was later claimed that this nominal caliph had transferred the caliphal rights and privileges to Sulayman. This is historically doubtful and substantially worthless. The plain fact is that as the most powerful potentates in Islam, the Ottoman sultans could and did claim the caliphal title and the office. Theirs was the right of the sword. Under Ottoman sultan-caliphs Lebanon and the other Arab lands continued their downward courses.

The decisive battle of Marj Dabiq (1516) found the chiefs of Lebanon divided in their sympathies. The Buhturis of Beirut took part on the Mamluk side. The Assafs of Kisrawan and the Mans of al-Shuf (south-east of Beirut) straddled the fence. Fakhr-al-Din I al-Mani must have had some understanding with the perfidious Aleppo viceroy and advised his men to follow a "wait-and-see" policy — one in which Lebanese leaders had become adept since Tell al-Amarnah days.

No sooner had Salim entered Damascus than did delegations of Lebanese chiefs present themselves to offer homage. The Kisrawan delegation was headed by Assaf al-Turkumani, the Shuf by Fakhr-al-Din al-Mani. As spokesman Fakhr kissed the ground before the victorious sultan and began:

O Lord, prolong the life of him whom Thou hast chosen to administer Thy domain, installed as the successor (*khalifah*) of Thy covenant, empowered over Thy worshippers and Thy land and entrusted with Thy precepts and Thy command; he who is the upholder of Thy luminous legislation and the leader of Thy righteous and victorious nation, our lord and dispenser of our favours, the commander of the believers. . . . May God respond

to our prayer for the perpetuation of his dynasty, in happiness and felicity and in might and glory! Amen!

Impressed with his dignified personality, seeming sincerity and grand eloquence, Salim confirmed Fakhr and his companions in their fiefs and in the autonomous privileges enjoyed under Mamluks. He further bestowed on Fakhr the title of "sultan of the Mountain". The tribute imposed was relatively light. Kisrawan, for instance, was assessed at only 4000 gold piastres. As vassals of the new lord the Lebanese chiefs then acted independently on the domestic level, offered no military service and transmitted their holdings to their children. They exacted taxes and duties and at times even concluded treaties with foreign powers. Ottoman sultans, no less than Arab caliphs, concentrated on more serious and urgent problems, considering it expedient to let alone those few mountaineers. The real danger lay in Persia and Egypt. Thus did the latest wave of conquests which engulfed the area fail to reach the heights of Lebanon, where its sons persisted in the ancestral way of life and whence they looked down unconcerned upon what was transpiring below. Earlier conquerors — Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Romans — memorialized their presence by chiselling inscriptions, already blurred, on the foot of the mountain. Byzantines and Crusaders left monumental structures which were crumbling. There was no special reason to believe that the fresh upstarts would leave much more of a permanent impression — even if they were to linger for four centuries.

The Ottoman rule over Syria was more direct. The country was divided into three provinces (Ar. *iyalah*, later *walayah*): Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli. The province was divided into units called *sanjaqs*. In general Ottoman administrative divisions followed the Mamluk. Beirut and Sidon, natural seaports of Lebanon, were added to Damascus, the leading province, which also comprised Palestine. The Tripoli province comprised Hims and Hamah. Aleppo

province embraced north Syria. Each province was under a Turkish governor called wali and entitled pasha. For purposes of taxation it was necessary to draw up a cadastre. Salim empowered a commission to do so, reserving a considerable portion of the fertile plain of al-Biqa and the rich valley of the Orontes to the crown. This left as Lebanon only the mountain. The Mamluk system of farming taxes to the highest bidder was expectedly continued.

Ottoman political theory reduced the status of conquered peoples to that of raya (Ar. *ra'iyah*, flock, herd) to be shepherded, protected and utilized. Not only Greeks, Armenians and other Christians but even Moslem Arabs were so classified. Mostly peasants, merchants and artisans, the raya could not aspire to high government offices. These were the exclusive domain of Turks reinforced in the early period by recruits from Christian war prisoners, purchased individuals or children levied as tribute. Such persons were "brain washed", processed through a system of training and discipline and ultimately Islamized and Turkified. The palace school at Constantinople provided the longest and most rigorous programme of such education. Those physically fit would be enrolled in military service to feed the Janissary corps and ultimately provide generals and admirals. The intellectually distinguished had open before them political careers leading to a provincial governorship or grand vizirate. By the eighteenth century Christian parents had worked out ways of buying off their children, while Moslem parents had found more means of sending their children to the palace school.

At the head of the ruling class stood the sultan-caliph, surrounded by a harem, guarded by emasculated slaves and exercising remote control over the provinces through his ministers and governors. But no matter how high an official rose he remained a slave over whom the master could — and at times did — exercise the powers of life and death. This left the Ottoman house as the only aristocracy in the empire,

the supreme power responsible for the existence and administration of the state and for the defence of Islam.

Under the sultanate an elaborate system of rule evolved which inherited features from its Arab predecessors and borrowed elements from the Byzantine system, but became unique and the most effective in Islamic history. It was manned by career men who could be called professional and fell into several categories. The most distinctive category was the military ("people of the sword") discussed above. Also clearly defined was the religious class ("people of learning", *ulema*) comprising seminary professors, theologians, preachers, judges (sing. *qadi*, cadi) and muftis (interpreters of law) headed by shaykh al-Islam. The religious opinion of shaykh al-Islam, whose office recalls that of the Greek Orthodox patriarch under the Byzantines, was considered highest in authority. The learned class was recruited largely from native Turks. The bureaucratic class ("people of the pen") comprised clerks, accountants and secretaries whose chief could rise to a governorship or vizirate. The ordinary bureaucrat was entitled effendi, which later became a general honorific title.

The raya were divided on the basis of religious affiliation into units called millets (Ar. *millah*, sect). Moslems constituted the largest and most important millet. This was a continuation and accentuation of an already existing system. From time immemorial the people of the Near East had been stratified in terms of belief rather than of race. Hence in the popular mind religion and nationality were inextricably interwoven. In the Christian community the two largest millets were the Greek Orthodox (Rum, from Roman, i.e. Byzantine) and the Armenian. The Jews were also recognized as a millet. Since Moslem law was too sacred to be applicable to non-Moslems each one of these millets was left, in so far as personal status was concerned, under the jurisdiction of its own religious heads. Questions relating to mar-

riage, divorce, inheritance, adoption and the like remained in the hands of the hierarchy headed by the patriarch or chief rabbi. This amounted to the recognition of a government within a government. New millets could be established, as that of the Protestants in the nineteenth century, on whose behalf the British government intervened.

A modified millet status was accorded Christian Europeans. Venetians were among the first to receive officially certain privileges that set them apart from nationals. In 1521 Sulayman I handed them a treaty in chapters (Lat. *capitula*, whence "capitulation"). It established a precedent for other treaties and developed into a sore spot in the Ottoman body politic. Fourteen years later the French received their capitulations. The English followed in 1580. The European camel's head was already thrust into the Turkish tent. Western merchants and other residents remained subject on the whole to the jurisdiction of their respective consulates under their own embassies. Such extraterritorial privileges increased as Ottoman power waned. In 1740 Mahmud I signed a treaty with Louis XV putting not only French pilgrims to the Holy Land but all other Christian visitors to the empire under French protection. From this concession as a basis the French extended their claim to the protection of all Catholics in the Levant.

Thus what was originally intended as a favour bestowed by a powerful nation upon a friendly one took the form of exactions from a weak nation "capitulating" to a more powerful one. In some form capitulatory rights lingered until unilaterally abrogated by the Sublime Porte on its entry into the first World War on the side of the Central Powers. In Lebanon and Syria traces were left to the mandate period.

This Sulayman (1520–66), father of the capitulations, was known to his people as al-Qanuni (lawgiver) for his codification of mostly earlier enactments dealing with the organization of the armed forces, the feudal holding of

landed property and the duties of the raya. To the West he was known as the Magnificent, and magnificent indeed was his court. In prestige and splendour it had no match. His was the Sublime Porte in fact as in name. The style in which he addressed Francis I, king of France, indicates the esteem in which he held himself *vis-à-vis* other monarchs:

> I who am sultan of sultans, sovereign of sovereigns, dispenser of crowns to monarchs on the face of the earth, the shadow of God on earth, the sultan and sovereign lord of the White Sea [Mediterranean] and the Black Sea, of Rumelia and Anatolia, of Karamania and the land of Rum . . ., of Persia, of Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo, of Mecca and Medina, of Jerusalem, of all Arabia: to thee, who art Francis, king of the land of France.

Bombastic as the style was, Sulayman's boast was not entirely vain. With one mighty arm he pushed the eastern frontier of the realm through Mesopotamia at the expense of Persia, and with the other the western frontier through the Balkans and Hungary to Vienna and through North Africa as far as Morocco. In 1529 he laid siege to Vienna and compelled Archduke Ferdinand to pay tribute. The crescent on his flag became truly symbolic of the crescent thus inscribed on the map.

The empire maintained its position on this high plateau for over a century and a half. In 1683 its troops again stood at the gates of Vienna. Their repulsion, followed by the total loss of Hungary, marked the beginning of the downward curve, a curve which with few interruptions continued until the liquidation of the empire in the aftermath of the first World War.

The empire founded by Uthman and Muhammad the Conqueror and extended to its farthest limits by Salim and Sulayman was dynastic in character, military in spirit and loose in its organization. Its subjects were a conglomeration of diverse nationalities, religious denominations and linguistic groupings — Greeks, Albanians, Roumanians,



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS HEIGHT
ca. 1550

English Miles

0 200 400 600 800 1000



Rostov
Don R.
Volga R.
ARAL SEA
Oxus R.
COSSACKS
CASPIAN SEA
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
CRIMEA
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Adrianople
DONIA
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Batum
Trebizond
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Baku
ARMENIA
Erzerum
Tibriz
Ankara
Sivas
Brusa
ANATOLIA
Diyar Bakr
PERSIA
Koniah
Smyrna
Athens
Al-Mawsil
Tarsus
Alexandretta
Tigris R.
Antioch
Aleppo
Isbahan
Al-Ladhiqiyah
Rhodes
Tadmur
Euphrates R.
Baghdad
Crete
Cyprus
Tripoli
Hims
Beirut
Damascus
Shiraz
SEA
Sidon
'Akka
Al-Basrah
Jerusalem
Gaza
Alexandria
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
Cairo
EGYPT
AL-HIJAZ
RED SEA
Medina
1st Cataract
Mecca
Juddah
Nile R.
AL-YAMAN
HADRAMAWT
SUDAN
GULF OF ADEN
Adan
ETHIOPIA

Bulgarians, Slavs, Arabians, Egyptians, Berbers, Syrians, Iraqis, Kurds, Armenians — with no bond to hold them together other than the sword of Uthman. The governmental machinery was ordered primarily for the benefit of its operators. Little heed was paid to the exploitation of natural resources or promoting national welfare. The germs of fatal disease were inherent in the system from its inception.

The concentration of supreme authority in one man, the sultan-caliph, the undetermined principle of succession to his high office and the emergence of a military corps — the Janissary — as a recalcitrant reactionary force added to the disintegrating factors. As early as the days of Muhammad the Conqueror (d. 1481) the practice was legalized that whichever son of the dead sultan should secure the throne he could forthwith kill all his brothers (mostly half-brothers). Thereby he guaranteed the succession of his own progeny. Sulayman the Magnificent, being the only son, was spared the habitual palace intrigues and bloody strife; but he went so far as to execute two of his sons to clear the way for the succession of a son from his favourite slave wife, daughter of a Russian priest. Janissaries at times had a hand in making and unmaking sultans. Ahmad I (1603–17) devised a more humane practice: confining the would-be successors into private quarters enclosed in walled gardens and termed "cages" (*qafas*). Therein the caged prince was held under strict surveillance with his harem, slaves and eunuchs. Muhammad V Rashad, who succeeded his brother Abd-al-Hamid II at a crucial time in Ottoman history (1909), was one of those immured and showed marks of arrested mental growth.

Intrigue, corruption, extravagance in the central capital naturally had their repercussion in the provincial capitals. There the governors were no improvement on their Mamluk predecessors. They were farther removed from headquarters and to that extent subject to less control. At times they

engaged in bloody conflict against one another. Many of them would buy the high post, with its coveted title of pasha, expecting to reimburse themselves. They would enter upon their duties with an eye to promoting their personal interests locally and back home at the Sublime Porte. Exploitation went hand in hand with instability in office and lack of tenure. In its first hundred and eighty-four years of Ottoman rule, Syria experienced no fewer than a hundred and thirty-three walis. Not a few provincial governors returned or were recalled to face degradation and confiscation of property, if not banishment or execution.

Meantime the subjects suffered. But the general attitude seems to have been one of passivity and frustration. Gone was that spark which flamed into a rebellion under Arab caliphal misrule. Occasional visits by Janissaries, whose very name was associated with terror, contributed to the feeling of resignation to what the masses considered their fate (Tur. *kismet*, Ar. *qismah*, portion, lot).

Not least among the evils sustained was lack of cultural communication through the Ottoman curtain between the Arab East and the European West. Whatever culture Ottomans had developed began to decline with the political decline. The dark ages of the Near East were getting darker. Lamentably this was at a time when Europe was emerging from its Dark Ages and entering upon a period of enlightenment. It was striving to establish more purposeful control over its physical environment, blaze new trails in science, thought and technology and reap the benefits thereof. Turkey, on the other hand, self-contented and self-contained, persisted in the pursuit of its traditional way of life, unmindful of the progress of the world on its west. Facilities for the study of European languages were meagre and translations therefrom were few and practically in the monopoly of Christians and Jews.

As the West developed its industrial and military poten-

tials, it sought new fields to exploit and territories to colonize. Great Britain and France became the leading imperialist powers. Both had interests in the area stemming from its location astride the principal intercontinental lines of land and sea communication, considered lifelines between London and Paris and their foreign markets and dependencies in east Africa, India and the Far East. The condition of eighteenth-century Turkey provided an arena for competition and expansion. Turkey's two neighbours, Austria and Russia, were especially concerned. What became known as the Eastern Question was in reality a Western question involving the disposition of the Ottoman Empire. Landlocked Russia had, since Peter the Great (d. 1725), cast covetous eyes upon its southern neighbour with its access to warmer waters and the Mediterranean market. It was this Peter who rounded up his empire, introduced Western civilization into it and raised it to a recognized great European power. The city he founded, St. Petersburg, as a "window into Europe", remained capital until the twentieth century. A successor of his in the mid-nineteenth century could daub Turkey the "sick man" in Europe and invite Britain to share in the burial and the inheritance.

It was the humiliation at the hands of the Russian army signalized by the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) that at last served as a shock to Ottoman sensibility and opened the eyes of officials to how far they had been outrun at least in the military race. In religion and culture they remained superior in their own eyes. This treaty gave Russia territory in the Crimea, freedom of navigation on the Black Sea, the right of intervention in the Danubian principalities and protection of Orthodox Christianity throughout the empire.

While the military was the starting-point of the attempt at reform, other aspects became inevitably involved. To acquire new weapons and new techniques for waging war it was necessary first to study foreign languages and use foreign experts. But the acquisition of a foreign language, in this

case English or French, amounted to the possession of a master key for opening up all kinds of treasures — literary, scientific, religious, political, economic, social. The process, however, was rather slow and the driplets did not assume the proportions of an irresistible flood until the twenties of the twentieth century.

Resort was in the meantime made to reform by enactment. But, like all other attempts at reform from above, especially where there is no response from below, these were in vain. Three liberal and bold sultans — Salim III (1789–1807), who was fortunate to escape immurement, his son Mahmud II (1808–39) and Mahmud's son Abd-al-Majid (1839–61) — issued regulations which did not regulate. The new legislation aimed at restoring discipline in the army, putting the imperial treasury under stricter surveillance, abolishing the practice of farming out of taxes, removing the disabilities under which the raya laboured and guaranteeing the lives, properties and honour of all subjects irrespective of ethnic, religious or nationalist affiliation. It all looked good, but lacked effective implementation. Certain measures were opposed by Janissaries and corrupt officials, others by theologians, conservatives and reactionaries, still others by foreigners facing the loss of their privileged status. The enactments, therefore, remained by and large ink on paper.

But even if implemented and enforced such legislation would probably have had but little effect on Lebanon. Under its own feudal lords it fared better than any province under its Turkish walis.

FEUDAL LEBANON: THE MANS

THE Ottoman conquest marked the end of the Tanukh-Buhtur hegemony in central Lebanon and the beginning of the Mans. Buhturi amirs were apprehended and jailed by the wali of Damascus. Fakhr-al-Din I al-Mani (d. 1544), we learned before, derived his authority directly from Sultan Salim as the leading feudal lord of the mountain.

Man (Ma'n), the eponymous founder of the house, has no certain Arabian genealogy. He appears first in 1120 at the head of his tribe under instructions from the Saljuq governor of Damascus to settle on the central slopes of Lebanon and harass Crusaders on the maritime plain. The Shuf district was then barely populated and Baaqlin, the high village where the Mans abandoned their tents and settled, was, in the words of a Lebanese chronicler, as barren as a desert. Man operated in close co-operation with the Tanukhs and Buhturis and received subsidies from them, whom he was to supersede. The Mans inherited also the leadership of the Tanukhi party termed Qaysite, after a north Arabian tribe, and opposed to a party called Yamanite in commemoration of its south Arabian origin. These two parties, into which Moslem society was then polarized, perpetuate the pre-Islamic ethnic and cultural rift between Hijaz and Yaman. The feud plagued Arab society throughout the caliphate even in Spain. In Lebanon the two parties survived under different names (Yazbaki and Janbalati) to the early twentieth century.

Half a century after the Mans' advent another Arab family, the Shihabs, originating in the noble Quraysh tribe, moved from Hawran and settled farther south in and around Wadi al-Taym at the foot of Mount Hermon. From there they spread. The Mans adopted Druzism and their district

became known as Jabal (mountain of) al-Duruz. The Shihabs, except for a minority which remained Moslem, embraced Maronitism. But the two families from the start became allied by marriage and treaty. They shared the overlordship of central and southern Lebanon, with the Shihabs succeeding the Mans in 1697. Their seats were high in the mountain, Baaqlin and its next-door neighbour Dayr al-Qamar.

The Mans had for competitors the Assafs of Kisrawan, a feudal family of Turkoman origin. The Assafs were Shiites introduced by the Mamluks (1306) and used by them, but in 1516 they sided with Salim. Jubayl was then added to their feudal estate. At its height under Mansur (1522–80) the Assaf amirate extended from near Beirut to Arqah north of Tripoli. Ghazir, a mountain village, served as their seat. Under the Assafs Kisrawan prospered. It attracted Sunnite settlers from al-Biqa as well as Shiites from Baalbak. Druzes from al-Matn spread north and Maronites from the north expanded south. In 1590 the Assaf family made its exit from the Lebanese scene, as the Tanukhi had done before. Its legacy passed on to the Sayfas (Sifas?), a Kurdish family domiciled in the Akkar plain north of Tripoli. Sayfa entered the land again as a Mamluk agent and his descendants settled there.

The feudal history of this family begins with Yusuf Sayfa, whose district grew at the expense of the Tripoli walayah and finally swallowed it up. Yusuf shifted his seat to Tripoli, assumed the title of pasha and set up a court unmatched among its peers in luxurious living and patronage of poetry. His authority was acknowledged as far as the vicinity of Antioch. In 1584 he had the audacity to intercept and plunder at Jun Akkar a convoy of Janissaries carrying Egyptian and Palestinian taxes to the imperial treasury. Yusuf's eyes then turned southward. In 1590 his men ambushed and murdered Muhammad Assaf near al-Batrun, and in the

fashion of the day added Muhammad's wife to his harem. He then confiscated the entire family's possessions and claimed their district. Ruins of the Assafs' palaces can still be seen in Ghazir. Lebanon was now held by two houses, the Mans and the Sayfas.

The feudal pattern remained the same throughout. The head amir would parcel out the fiefs among subordinate shaykhs or amirs of his house. Their main duty was to raise and transmit taxes and tribute to him. He in turn would deliver the Porte's share to a neighbouring pasha or directly to Constantinople. The revenue, of course, constituted the main interest of Constantinople. At different times beginning in the seventeenth century the Druze Arislans held fiefs in al-Gharb, the Druze Janbalats in al-Shuf, the once-Druze now-Meronite abu-al-Lam's in al-Matn and the Maronite Khazins in Kisrawan.

Enraged by the Jun Akkar incident and disturbed about future developments the energetic sultan Murad III (1574–1595), whose reign was distinguished by conquests on the Austrian and Persian fronts, sent a punitive expedition to teach his audacious vassals a lesson. The expedition, led by his Egyptian governor, devastated the Akkar area, turned south to Jabal al-Duruz and disarmed the populace, slaughtering some 60,000. The Amir Qurqumaz al-Mani took refuge in an almost inaccessible cave near Jazzin called Qalat Niha (Shaqif Tirun). There he died in 1585 either of poison or deprivation. The Tanukhs were restored to power. Qurqumaz was the son of Fakhr-al-Din I and father of a more famous son, Fakhr-al-Din II.

The twelve-year-old orphan was rushed by his mother to Kisrawan where he was brought up in a Christian family, al-Khazin. His opportunity to return home came when his Tanukhi maternal uncle at Abayh summoned and entrusted him with a fief in al-Shuf. He thereby had the further opportunity of entering upon the joint paternal and maternal

heritage. Gradually Fakhr evolved in his youthful mind a three-pronged scheme: building up a greater Lebanon, severing the last tie with the Sublime Porte and launching his country on a new path of progress and "modernism". In all three he achieved remarkable success.

The media were the recognized ones of his day — intermarriage, bribery, intrigue, battles and treaties — but the consummate skill with which those media were used was entirely his own. For years Fakhr dominated the scene as perhaps the ablest and most fascinating figure in the empire and has ever remained as one of the most colourful in its history.

His starting-point was the development of a strong base. Neighbours came first. With the Sunnite Shihabs of Wadi al-Taym he reactivated the traditional family alliance; with the Shiite Harfushes of Baalbak and al-Biqa he entered into a new alliance; with the Druze Arislans of al-Gharb he forged a new bond by intermarriage. The first Arislan had entered Lebanon from Hawran in the mid-Crusading period; his descendants stand today at the top of the Druze aristocracy. With the Maronite Khazins of Kisrawan, Fakhr had no need for new techniques. They were his friends and benefactors.

But one person remained as a powerful rival and potential foe, Yusuf Pasha Sayfa, overlord of Kisrawan-Tripoli-Akkar, and head of the Yamanite party. Yusuf was then at the meridian of his power, while Fakhr was an upstart. Yusuf was suspected of having convinced the Porte of the complicity of Fakhr's father in the Jun Akkar affair, resulting in his downfall. Fakhr moved gingerly. He sought and secured the hand of Yusuf's daughter. Then looking back he realized the insecurity of his position without free access to the sea. He recovered Sidon, formerly held by his father. Beirut was added. The budding Lebanese hero had his stars to thank for having planned at the time he did. On the Ottoman throne sat a weak and vacillating monarch in the

person of Ahmad I (1603–17). Ahmad's reign was punctuated with reverses on the Austro-Hungarian as well as Persian fronts. With one hand Fakhr offered the Porte bribes and letters to lull any suspicions; with the other he gained full control over his allies and neighbours. He kept active lobbies at the imperial and his rivals' courts. An English traveller who visited Lebanon in 1610 asserts that the entire coast from the Dog River to Mount Carmel and a considerable part of the interior, with the towns of Safad, Baniyas, Nazareth and Tiberias, were all incorporated into his expanding domain. They became what we now call satellites.

Especially important among the acquisitions of the southward thrust were the Crusading castles, headed by Qalat al-Shaqif. They dominated strategic sites and roads and were now renovated and garrisoned. The ruins of a castle in the desert near Palmyra carry the name of Qalat ibn-Man. The eastward thrust netted the fertile plateau of al-Biqa, from whose revenue he could replenish the treasury.

On the domestic level Fakhr aimed at three main objectives: security, prosperity and non-sectarianism. The three were obviously interdependent. The improvised army of Druze and Maronite irregulars was replaced by a disciplined trained core of 40,000 professionals, mostly mercenaries. New garrison stations were built. Crossroad patrols were introduced. Artillery was imported from Europe.

By way of implementing his prosperity programme he encouraged olive and mulberry agriculture, promoted flax and silk industry and sought new avenues for foreign trade. For improving local communication he built bridges, especially on the coastal rivers near Beirut and Sidon, and provided caravanserais (khans), the predecessors of our motels. Foreign merchants, travellers and visitors were guaranteed the capitulary rights originated by Sulayman. The French caravanserai of Sidon is currently a girls' orphanage run by the Sisters of St. Joseph. This seaport, whose Phoenician grandmother would have disowned it, began to

stir with a new life but was soon dwarfed by Beirut.

Beirut became the chief foreign trade city of the area. Of the three foreign markets — Florence, Venice and France — Florence was the favourite. Florentine ships unloaded at Beirut cloth, artillery and other European products; they carried back silk, soap, wine, olive oil, beans (*ful*) and wheat. The year 1611 marked an extraordinary event; the signing by an amir of Lebanon and a Medici grand duke of Tuscany in Florence of a treaty of friendship and trade containing a secret military article against the amir's Ottoman suzerain.

Prosperity, security and liberal policies encouraged migration into the area. The Janbalats came from Aleppo, Maronites moved from the north. A Maronite Khazin commanded Fakhr's army, another served as his chief counsellor. A Maronite bishop was sent (1611) on a confidential mission to the pope and to the grand duke of Tuscany involving the Porte.

At last the Porte bestirred itself. With a mighty host drawn from fifty *sanjaqs*, the pasha of Damascus, supported with a sixty-galley fleet, marched against Jabal al-Duruz. The fleet blockaded the coast as the army attacked by land. Prudence dictated flight on the part of Fakhr. Three European ships which chanced to be at the Sidon port quietly sailed back with him, his favourite wife, counsellor and retinue to Italy. The amir left his son Ali in charge.

Cosmo II of Tuscany received his Lebanese ally in style and provided him with a palatial residence at state expense. The amir expected the duke, in collaboration with France, Spain and the pope to dispatch on his behalf an expeditionary force. Instead the duke sent a technical commission to study and report on the economic and military situation in Lebanon. Sobered by this experience Fakhr wrote to his people back home:

For a weak party to negotiate with a strong one is a variety of begging. I therefore advise you to depend upon yourselves,

above everything else, if you desire to achieve a secure independence with a respectable position among the nations.

In another letter, when informed of his mother's apprehension by Ottoman officials, the self-exiled amir wrote back: "Having set before our eyes a goal toward which we shall unswervingly move — the goal being the full independence of our country and its complete sovereignty — we are resolved that no promise of reward or threat of punishment shall in the least dissuade us".

True to his word, after a five-year sojourn in and witnessing the "wonders of the land of the Nazarenes", the amir made his return to his country. Changes in the grand vizirate at Constantinople and in the governorship of Damascus played in his favour. His arrival (1618) was a signal for public rejoicing. Foes competed with friends in expressing their welcome. Yusuf Sayfa sent his son, who had married Fakhr's daughter, with Arab steeds as a present: but Fakhr rejected the offer with the wry remark, "What we need is material for building the houses at Dayr al-Qamar, not horses", referring to the sneak assault made on the town by Yusuf in Fakhr's absence. Insult was added to injury when Yusuf remarked to his daughter-in-law, "Your father! why, I could contain him in my pocket with my keys". The amir's diminutive size served as a butt of shafts of ridicule from critics. According to one, "Should an egg drop from that man's pocket to the ground, it won't break". To this Fakhr retorted in verse:

> We are small, but foes should see us great and stand in awe:
> They are the poplar wood; we are the wood's saw.
> By Tiba and Zamzam and the holy Prophet I swear:
> The stones of Akkar shall rebuild the houses of Dayr.

Tiba was another name for Zamzam, the sacred well of Mecca; Dayr is Dayr al-Qamar then the Mani capital.

Fakhr lost no time in implementing his oath. His men

captured Qalat al-Hisn (Crac des Chevaliers), demolished the Sayfas' palaces in Akkar and later at Tripoli and removed stones therefrom to Dayr al-Qamar, still conspicuous by their yellowish colour in the mosque and the walls of the Mani palace. The turn of the pasha of Damascus came next. His 12,000 men were cut to pieces by 4000 Lebanese at Anjar (in al-Biqa, eight miles south-east of Zahlah) and the pasha himself was captured. The way was now open southward to Nabulus and Ajlun and northward to Aleppo. Acknowledging the *fait accompli*, Constantinople under a twelve-year-old sultan, bestowed on Fakhr (1624) the title of "lord of Arabistan". He, however, preferred the "amir of Mount Lebanon, Sidon and Galilee". "Nothing left for Fakhr-al-Din", declared a biographer, "but to proclaim himself sultan."

The lord of Greater Lebanon now felt free to proceed with his economic programme. Tuscanian missions — anticipating President Truman's Point Four and Kennedy's Peace Corps — introduced the Lebanese farmer to improved methods of tillage, equipped him with more up-to-date implements and offered him cattle for enriching the local breed. In return for the cattle Fakhr sent Arab horses. Italian experts helped fortify and embellish Beirut, which became his winter residence. European travellers dilate on his sumptuous palace with its fountains, courts, stables for horses and dens for lions, enclosed in a magnificent garden abounding in fruit trees and not lacking in statues — an un-Moslem feature. The palace stood in the shadow of the city's sixty-foot tower, whose site is known today as al-Burj ("the tower") and its last walls were levelled when the modern Opera Cinema was built. To Fakhr is attributed the restoration of the pine grove on the sand dunes of the city. In Sidon, too, he had a winter residence some of whose walls are discernible in a building across from the French caravanserai. A considerable part of the increased revenue,

estimated at 900,000 gold pieces, was devoted to the maintenance of a huge military machine.

Of more abiding value was the amir's encouragement of Capuchin, Franciscan and other Catholic missions to operate in the land. From Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli and other urban settlements they spread into out-of-the-way villages. The amir himself cherished Christian sympathies while practising Druzism before his subjects and Islam before his superiors. Travellers assert he was never known to pray and never seen inside a mosque. It was reported that he even was baptized by his Capuchin physician (1633) and that on his death a cross was found in his clothes.

His Christian leanings and European dealings once more aroused the ire of the Sublime Porte. Orders were issued in 1633 for a joint Syro-Egyptian land attack synchronizing with a twenty-two-galley fleet operation against coastal towns and fortifications. Some 80,000 troops from Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza and Cairo converged on the mountain. All that Fakhr could muster was 25,000 including Druzes, Maronites and a large number of mercenaries. Twelve thousand of these were put under the command of his eldest son Ali and directed to prevent junction between the enemy forces from the north and those from the south. An initial victory cost Ali 7000 men and left his position vulnerable. At Wadi al-Taym in a surprise attack his horse fell dead of a wound and the valiant fighter surrendered to be forthright decapitated. His head, perfumed, was sent to Constantinople together with the finger wearing his seal.

The father lost heart. His allies began to desert his camp one after the other. Repeated requests for succour from overseas went unheeded. Fakhr offered the pasha the equivalent of 50,000 guineas together with a son of his as a hostage. The offer was accepted and received, but the cease-fire command was not issued. Flight was the only resort left. The rock-hewn Qalat Niha, to which his father had fled, provided him with shelter until its drinking water

was polluted by the enemy's slaughter of animals. Flushed out, Fakhr moved on to a cave also near Jazzin. The cave is still shown. There he was discovered in February 1635 and led captive with three sons to Constantinople. Gold-filled chests and an eloquent tongue, like that which had served his grandfather and namesake, saved his neck — for a time. Pleaded he before the sultan:

> Verily I am a misunderstood man. No troops did I ever muster except by order of your vizirs and agents; no castles did I erect except for the defence of the realm; no men did I destroy except those who rebelled against the Ottoman state. I captured rebels' fortresses only to have them delivered to the Ottoman government. Moreover I insured the safety of the pilgrims' road [to Mecca] against bedouin aggression; I delivered taxes to the imperial treasury at the times they were due; I enforced the noble Islamic law with strict adherence to its ordinances and regulations.

The old rebel turned a favourite. Old favourites became jealous. They schemed. The grand mufti expressed the formal opinion that Fakhr-al-Din ("the pride of the faith") was an apostate from the faith. The mufti's word was final. Passers-by at a certain hour on April 13, 1635, could see two huge mutes strangle at a mosque's square a dwarf of a man. Three of his sons were also executed. A fourth, Husayn, was spared, Ottomanized and accepted in the capital's hierarchy. He became a chamberlain and an ambassador to India.

Fakhr-al-Din II's long career (1590–1635) stood between Lebanon past and Lebanon future. It pointed to the Lebanese their destiny and established a clear-cut break between their country and Syria. Its effect on Syria was more than transient. Syria remained out of step with post-Mani Lebanon. Lebanon left its neighbour behind. The Mani amir had a worthy successor among the Shihabs in Bashir II. Both names became legendary in Lebanese saga and are still invoked by sons of an independent Greater Lebanon.

THE SHIHABS

FAKHR-AL-DIN'S removal from the political scene left the country in a state bordering on anarchy. Old feuds were revived. The Qaysi-Yamani struggle for power was resumed. Feudal families, for long Mani subordinates, asserted their independence. Satellites of Jabal al-Duruz drifted away from their orbit. Sidon was detached and created a walayah by Constantinople. Beirut was likewise detached from Lebanon but placed under Damascus. No leader emerged to carry on where Fakhr had left. So prolonged was the bloody multicornered strife that a chronicler reports that al-Shuf, al-Gharb and al-Matn were well-nigh depopulated.

Mulhim (1635–57), nephew of Fakhr-al-Din, salvaged a portion of the Mani heritage, the bulk having gone to Ali of the Alam-al-Din family, a branch of the old Tanukhs. Mulhim's son Ahmad succeeded him but he died in 1697 sonless. It was time for new blood.

Lebanese notables and elders held a national assembly at al-Samqaniyah close by Baaqlin. Their choice fell on a Shihabi amir of Rashayya, Bashir. Bashir's mother was a sister of the last Mani, Ahmad. The action was reported to the wali of Sidon with the assurance that the new governor (*hakim*) would assume the obligation of collecting and delivering taxes on time plus any arrears. The Porte, however, inspired by Fakhr-al-Din's son Husayn, ruled that another Shihabi, Haydar of Hasbayya and son of Ahmad's daughter, had a prior claim. Haydar, a first cousin of Bashir, was twelve years old and Bashir was declared regent. The Mani male line became extinct but the principle of heredity was maintained and so was the tradition of self-rule.

Bashir I (1697–1707) retained Dayr al-Qamar as his

capital but deviated from his predecessors' policy in seeking and establishing amicable relations with Sidon's wali. Meantime he and his successors exploited to the full the cupidity and jealousies among the walis of Sidon and Tripoli and took advantage of the enfeebled condition of the central government. Bashir and his immediate successor continued in their profession of Islam but presumably assured their Druze subjects that this was simply a dissimulation (*taqiyah*), an ethical principle recognized by Druzes and Shiites. But at the same time Shihabi governors took special pains to maintain a balance between their Druze and Christian subjects with favouritism toward neither. They, of course, did not fail to play off one chief or party against another and strive to destroy him who aspired to their high post. The outcome was that in the course of the long Shihabi regime (1697–1842) the unity of Lebanon was re-established and maintained, the inland and maritime plains — without which the mountain would not be viable — were recovered, and stability with safety was insured.

In 1707 Bashir died suspiciously poisoned by his charge's agents. Haydar's governorship (1707–32) was signalized by the virtual destruction (1711) of the Yamani faction at Ayn Darah. This decisive battle in the local annals of the mountain contributed to its consolidation, but at the same time gave rise to a new alignment of feudal holdings and the creation of a new aristocracy, one that is still an active force in the life of the country. The Alam-al-Dins, Yamani standard-bearers, were almost exterminated, as were other leaders of the party. Druze refugees in Hawran laid the basis of a still flourishing community. For their valour on Qaysi side the abu-al-Lam's were elevated to the amirate rank, rendering them marriageable with the Shihabs. They were established as feudatories (*muqata'ajis*) in al-Matn. The Janbalats were made shaykhs and installed in al-Shuf. Al-Mukhtarah near Baaqlin became their seat. The Janbalats lent their name to a new faction which was opposed

by a member of another Druze family named Yazbak. Into Janbalabis and Yazbakis the entire Druze community and its Christians were until a few years ago divided. The Khazins were confirmed as shaykhs in Kisrawan. The pro-Yamani Arislans were temporarily stripped of their holdings in al-Gharb, some of which went to another Druze family, the Talhuqs.

At the pinnacle of this reconstructed feudal pyramid of shaykhs and amirs the Shihabs stood secure. As they advanced in power they gave their people solidarity and cohesion, relying upon their subordinates to supply them with armed men and taxes (*miri*). Amirs, shaykhs and other notables participated in decisions relating to peace and war and in discussing momentous problems of national concern. Unlike the neighbouring walis, the Shihab princes kept their entire man-power on a permanent military footing — universal military service minus training. This, coupled with the hardihood, courage and love of independence characteristic of mountaineers, rendered Lebanon's fighting potential incomparable in the area. Taxes were farmed out, collected and delivered to the pasha of Sidon if from south Lebanon, to the pasha of Tripoli if from the north and to that of Damascus if from al-Biqa.

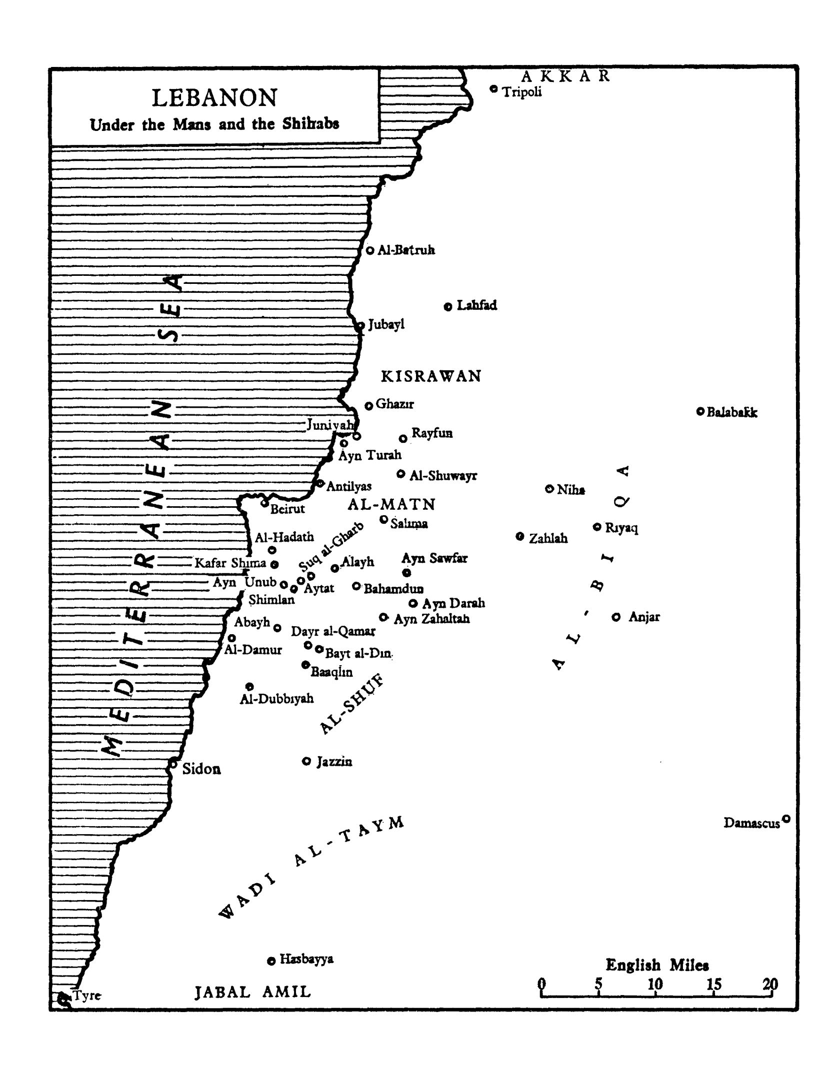
Al-Biqa was acquired by Haydar's son Mulhim (1732–1754), who added Jabal Amil (east and north of Tyre) peopled by Shiites. Mulhim's father had inaugurated the policy of expansion by adding Tyre and Safad. Mulhim's recovery of the inter-mountain plain not only returned to Lebanon its bread basket, but afforded further security on the eastern border. The recovery resulted from a victory at Barr Ilyas (south-east of Zahlah) over the Damascus wali's troops. For lending support to the wali, the Harfushes of Baalbak were replaced by a Shihabi, brother of the ruling amir. The opportunity for acquiring Jabal Amil was provided when Sidon's wali invited Mulhim to help him enforce

payment of taxes by the Amilites. Beirut was regained in 1749 as a result of riots instigated by a Talhuq agent of Mulhim. Thus was the Greater Lebanon of the Mans — the Tripoli region excepted — reassembled, piece by piece, by the Shihabs. In the tradition of their predecessors the Shihabs encouraged and protected European traders and settlers and made once more of Sidon and Beirut centres of foreign trade.

After a brilliantly successful career Mulhim relinquished (1754) state affairs in favour of a life of religious contemplation and Islamic study at Beirut. His sons, however, embraced Christianity. The eldest Yusuf, being a minor, was not installed in the amirate until 1770. He then became the first Christian governor of Lebanon with undisputed authority "from Tripoli to Sidon", in the words of Churchill of the renowned English family who resided later in Lebanon and married a Shihabi princess. Volney, the French scholar and nobleman who travelled in Egypt and Syria 1783 to 1787, was particularly impressed with the density of Lebanon's population, the measure of freedom and security enjoyed and the number of Christian families "daily" deserting the neighbouring provinces to the mountain. According to Volney 40,000 of its men were able to bear arms.

Here, unlike any other Turkish country, everyone enjoys full security for his property and life. The peasant is not richer than in other countries; but he lives in tranquillity. He fears not, as I have often heard him say, that the military officer, the district governor or the pasha should send their soldiers to pillage his house, carry out his family or give him the bastinado. Such oppressions are unknown in the mountain.

The prince of the mountain had now two neighbouring competitors for the front place in the historic parade: the son of a bedouin shaykh of Palestine named Zahir al-Umar, and an Egyptian Mamluk named Ali Bey. To Safad, with which he started, Zahir gradually added Tiberias, Galilee,



LEBANON
Under the Mans and the Shihabs
AKKAR
Tripoli
Al-Batruh
Lahfad
Jubayl
KISRAWAN
Ghazir
Balabakk
Juniyah
Rayfun
Ayn Turah
Al-Shuwayr
Antilyas
Niha
AL-MATN
Beirut
Salima
Al-Hadath
Suq al-Gharb
Zahlah
Riyaq
Kafar Shima
Alayh
Ayn Sawfar
Ayn Unub
Aytat
Bahamdun
Shimlan
Ayn Darah
Ayn Zahaltah
Anjar
Abayh
Dayr al-Qamar
Al-Damur
Bayt al-Din
Baaqlin
Al-Dubbiyah
AL-SHUF
AL-BIQA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Jazzin
Damascus
WADI AL-TAYM
Hasbayya
Tyre
JABAL AMIL
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20

Nabulus and Nazareth. In 1750 he moved against Akka, which brought him dangerously close to Lebanon. The city, largely in ruins since the Crusades, had its harbour filled up by Fakhr-al-Din, as a measure of protection against sea raids; but Zahir rebuilt, refortified and made it his capital. The usurper-dictator stamped out lawlessness in his territory, encouraged agriculture and treated Christians with tolerance. He manned his court with Greek Catholics. He faithfully met his financial obligations to the Porte, to which evidently it made no difference whether the agent was a Turk or an Arab so long as that condition was fulfilled. The sultan further obliged by entitling Zahir "shaykh of Akka, prince of princes, lord of Nazareth, Tiberias and Safad, prince and lord of all Galilee". And when the shaykh requested a permanent investiture of government and title in himself and progeny, the sultan complied. This was a time when Ottoman prestige was at a low ebb, with the sultan embroiled in a bitter struggle against Catherine II of Russia. Catherine won a series of victories over him and forced the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774), already cited as one of the most humiliating in Ottoman history. With the aid of a Russian flotilla Zahir occupied Sidon (1772). After Sidon the flotilla bombarded Beirut, whose population did not exceed six thousand.

Zahir found in Ali Bey a natural ally. The Egyptian Mamluk aimed at resuscitating the pre-Ottoman Mamluk power in Egypt and Syria. The Mamluk kingdom, it will be recalled, was destroyed by Salim I in 1517 but Mamluks remained in government service and at times became too powerful for the Turkish wali; some even usurped his position. Ali Bey was one such Mamluk. Feeling secure in Egypt he in 1771 sent his slave-agent at the head of a contingent against the Syrian capital. Young Yusuf of Lebanon allied himself with the wali of Damascus against the two new upstarts.

Syro-Lebanese land operations against Sidon, supported

by Ottoman naval operations, wrested the city (1775) from Zahir's hands. Zahir blockaded himself in his fortified capital. Akka's walls withstood Turkish bullets but its garrison yielded to Turkish gold. Its lord was apprehended and decapitated. His head was sent as a trophy to decorate the wall of the serai (government office building) at Constantinople.

The empire got rid of an adventurous usurper but in the process gave rise to a more dangerous one. In the Syrian army which fought at Beirut and Sidon against Zahir and his Russian allies was an officer, Ahmad al-Jazzar, whose distinguished performance merited a reward. The reward was the governorship of Sidon.

A Christian Bosnian by birth, Ahmad was sixteen years old when, subsequent to an attempt to violate his sister-in-law, he fled to Constantinople, sold himself to a Jewish slave-dealer and landed in the possession of Ali Bey at Cairo. Ali used Ahmad as an executioner, a function in which he so excelled as to be surnamed *al-jazzar*, the butcher. From Cairo he drifted to Damascus, proudly holding on to his surname. His new career afforded him ample opportunity to live up to his reputation.

Al-Jazzar refused to acknowledge Yusuf's authority in Beirut, thus stripping Lebanon of its second seaport. In addition he entered upon Zahir's legacy and took his seat in Akka. There he built a small fleet, organized an infantry corps of North Africans and a cavalry corps of Albanians. Expenses were met from monopolizing much of his district's trade. Enough was left to enable him to live in baronial style and build a grand mosque, still standing. His authority spread beyond the confines of Palestine and the littoral of Lebanon into north and inner Syria. In 1780 the sultan bestowed on his powerful vassal the walayah of Damascus, with the title pertaining thereunto. For about a quarter of a century the cut-throat pasha ruled as lord of Palestine,

viceroy of Syria and arbiter of Lebanese affairs. A native chronicler reports that on a mere suspicion of infidelity on the part of his harem he made his eunuch slaves drag by the hair each of the thirty-seven, whom he in person dumped into a fiery pyre. By pitting one Lebanese party against the other and subverting influential families and leaders he undermined Yusuf's amirate and in 1788 induced the people to replace him by another Shihabi, young Bashir. Bashir's long career (1788–1840) opened a new chapter in Lebanon's history, as we shall learn later. In despair Yusuf tied a kerchief round his neck, sign of submission, and threw himself at the mercy of him who was merciless. The kerchief was replaced by the hangman's rope in Akka's prison.

The high-water mark in al-Jazzar's career was attained in 1799 when, in collaboration with a British flotilla, he defended his city successfully and checked the victorious advance of Napoleon Bonaparte's army from Egypt. Thus did tiny Akka of al-Jazzar stand between the French general and the realization of his dream of a world empire. Five years later al-Jazzar died leaving a memory echoing that of Nero or Caligula.

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL RELATIONS

UNDER the Mans and early Shihabs Lebanon's foreign relations were mainly with France and Italy; they involved commercial and missionary activities.

French trade with the Levant had the advantage of an early start, thanks to the capitulations granted by Sulayman the Magnificent. During the long reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) French policy emphasized promoting trade with the area and protecting its Catholic minorities. In 1697 King Louis instructed his ambassador in Constantinople and consuls in Syria and Lebanon to use their good offices on behalf of the Maronite "nation", numbering then about 70,000. His successor Louis XV repeated the instructions (1737).

In 1616 Sidon was made for the first time seat of a French consulate. Fakhr-al-Din II, whose extraordinary dealings with the Medici court have already been treated, had granted Sidon's French residents and travellers — whether in the consular service, in business or missionary work — the right to use the khan he built. Sidon's consulate exercised jurisdiction over Beirut, Tyre, Akka, Haifa and Jaffa. The city developed into a depot for Lebanon and a port for Damascus. Ships from Marseille brought cotton and woollen goods from France; paper, iron and copper from England; tools and coined money from both. England's trade was funnelled largely through Aleppo and mainly to India, where the East India Company was building up a commercial and political empire. French and English pounds remained current in the Ottoman Empire till the first World War, and Turkish coinage was modelled after the European. It still bears traces of foreign nomenclature.

In exchange Lebanon exported industrial and agricultural products, featuring silk, oil, soap and raisins. Lebanese silk, especially from the Beirut and Tripoli areas, was highly prized in European markets. Sidon added to its prestige when made a walayah (1660). Its trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ranged from one to two million francs per annum. Both Beirut and Tripoli were for the time being dwarfed by their sister to the south.

In 1655 France took an unusual step and appointed a Maronite, abu-Nawfal Nadir al-Khazin, as deputy consul in Beirut. Abu-Nawfal was then feudatory over Kisrawan under a Mani amir. As such he had protected and encouraged Catholic missions, on whose recommendations the appointment was presumably made. Under Louis XIV he was granted full citizenship with the rights and privileges of a French nobleman. This qualified him later to the position of a full consul. In 1675 he added to his title that of vice-consul of Venice. Abu-Nawfal bequeathed the French consulate to his descendants down to the mid-eighteenth century, when the sultan refused to recognize a subject as a foreign agent. Under Khazin's patronage Catholic missionary work was accelerated and widened. Capuchins had been stationed in Beirut since 1626 and Jesuits since 1652. Franciscans now occupied Tripoli and Carmelites entered Bisharri. It was the work of these men that served as the entering wedge for cracking the hardened shell of traditional conservative thinking.

Jesuits were responsible for the first important European high school in Lebanon, that of Ayn Turah in Kisrawan. Founded in 1734 by a Maronite priest trained in Rome, the school was put under Jesuit administration, to whose order the priest belonged. After the suppression of the order (1773) by the pope the Ayn Turah school passed into Lazarist hands. In 1789 another high school was founded, again by a Maronite graduate of Rome, at Ayn Waraqah. These

two European-style high institutions graduated some of the most learned Maronites, both clergy and laity. They served as models for later establishments.

The Maronite College at Rome, in which some of those early priests were trained, was established by Pope Gregory XIII in 1584 and dedicated to the education of Maronite clergy. Many of its graduates returned home to occupy positions of leadership ; others remained in Rome or moved on to Milan, Madrid, Paris and other intellectual centres of the West to help introduce Oriental studies, spread knowledge about Eastern Churches and culture and incidentally cement Latin (particularly French)-Lebanese relations.

One of the earliest graduates to remain in Europe was Jibrail al-Sihyuni (Latinized Sionita, 1577–1648), who taught Syriac and Arabic in Rome, occupied the chair of Semitic languages at what is now Collège de France, served as interpreter for Louis XIII and collaborated in the compilation of the Paris polyglot Bible, the first to include Arabic and Syriac versions in its columns. His collaborator in the polyglot was Ibrahim al-Haqili (al-Haqilani, Ecchelensis), who in 1646 succeeded him in the Semitic chair. These scholars were bilingual, using Arabic and Syriac with equal facility.

Another outstanding figure in this group was Yusuf Shimun al-Simani (Assemani, 1687–1768), who was taken to Rome at the tender age of eight. There he laboured and died. As director of the Vatican library, al-Simani was largely responsible for making it a world-leading depository of Oriental collections. In quest of manuscripts he took two trips to the East. A ship loaded with his collected treasures was wrecked in a storm on its way back to Italy. The researches of this savant, covering Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and Ethiopic, were embodied in his voluminous *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, still a mine of information on the churches of the East. As historiographer of the king of

Naples and Italy, al-Simani produced a four-volume work which won him honorary citizenship of the kingdom.

Of a different nature was al-Simani's contribution to the church in which he was born and to the one in which he was nurtured. In 1736 the pope sent him as his delegate to a synod at al-Luwayzah, in the gorge not far from the mouth of the Dog River. It was the resolutions of this Synod that sealed the union between the Maronite Church and the papal see. The *rapprochement*, it will be recalled, began in the Crusading period. In the synod thirteen bishops, numerous shaykhs and chiefs participated, making it a national council. There were observers from other Eastern rites. The synod acknowledged earlier church councils, accepted the filioque, adapted the Roman catechism and agreed to mention the pope's name in the mass. It limited clergy marriage to the lower degrees and allowed the reception of the host in both kinds by the clergy but not by the laity. Moreover, the church persisted in its liturgical use of Syriac, in which it still prides itself because of its close relationship to Aramaic, the language of Christ. It distinguishes itself from other Uniat bodies in its claim to uninterrupted orthodoxy.

Of those graduates of Rome who returned home special mention should be made of Istifan al-Duwayhi (1636–1704), patriarch and historian. Born in Ihdin, Istifan was taken to Rome at the age of eleven and spent there fourteen years. He rose to the highest ecclesiastical position in his church at an especially disturbed period. The extinction of the Man line gave Tripoli's pasha the opportunity to appoint over north Lebanon Shiite feudatories who oppressed its Christian population and exacted excessive taxes. The patriarch was forced to flee to caves, although his seat at Qannubin, deep in the gorge of the Qadisha, was the kind that made a European traveller wonder as to "how it could be reached without the benefit of wings". Despite these handicaps al-Duwayhi was able to contribute among other works the earliest major history of his church and community, which made him the

father of Maronite history. He wrote in both Syriac and Arabic, as other scholars of his time did.

While north Lebanon, with its Maronite community, enjoyed limited exposure to new influences and publicity, south Lebanon, with its Druze and Shiite communities, remained relatively isolated and in obscurity. The three communities, however, continued to live together in peace and harmony, with political parties not organized on denominational lines. European travellers were struck by the similarity in customs, manners and general aspects of life between Druzes and Maronites. An Italian abbot who visited the country in 1760 observed that Druzes "behave with great friendship to the Christians and respect their religion. They pray indifferently in the Greek [Orthodox] churches and the Turkish [Moslem] mosques." Volney, the Frenchman quoted before who was there shortly after the abbot, went further: "Druzes at times accompany Maronites to churches, make use of the holy water and, if pressed by missionaries, suffer themselves to be baptized".

All this, however, should not be taken too seriously. It can be explained on the ground of dissimulation — a recognized ethical principle in Shiah and its offshoots — or of its magical value. Until the present, Druzes and Christians venerate certain common shrines, hang shreds of clothes as vows on the same "inhabited trees" and indulge in other practices going back to pre-Druze, pre-Christian days.

Travellers' fragmentary reports indicate that under the Mans and Shihabs the Druze socio-religious structure had already crystallized into the form it still retains. The family was strictly monogamous, differing from the Christian in its facility of divorce. The individual Druze, in common with his Christian compatriot, could exercise the right to will his estate as he pleased — a right denied the Moslem. Islamic law disposes the bulk of the estate among the heirs in accordance with an established koranic formula. Druzes then as

now took no part in the fast of Ramadan, the holy pilgrimage and the Friday noon congregational prayer. They had their own secluded places of worship (*khalwahs*), where meetings on Thursday evenings are still held behind closed doors.

Only the initiated few, we learned before, are introduced into the secrets of the cult. Initiates are styled shaykhs and can be outwardly distinguished by white turbans. The higher order in the hierarchy, *uqqal*, having penetrated deeply into the mysteries of the cult, can teach, initiate novices and officiate at such ceremonies as marriage and death. In teaching stress is laid on universally recognized moral principles involving the interdiction of stealth, adultery, drunkenness and lying. The uqqal's ethical code is more rigorous and their discipline stricter. Committal of a major sin by one of them subjects him to expulsion from the order. Those among the uqqal who distinguish themselves further in piety and asceticism become known as *ajawid* (righteous) — a highly exalted degree to which all shaykhs aspire. The ajawid conduct themselves with unusual dignity and decorum; they wear over their sombre clothes a white aba of coarse wool with black stripes.

Khalwahs are low one- or two-room buildings inconspicuous though perched atop hills. Their interior, with no icons, pictures, tables or chairs, befits their exterior. The worshippers squat in the Oriental fashion on mats, sheep or goat skins, or white and black carpets covering the floor. Women, if initiated, take back seats separated by a partition. As the oldest of the uqqal present claps his hands all uninitiates clear the room. Readings from manuscripts yellowed with age, reciting prescribed prayers and discussion of aspects of the esoteric cult of "our Lord" (al-Hakim) constitute the agenda. The opportunity, as noted before, presents itself for taking up questions of common concern and interest to the Druze community. Such has been the secrecy in which these meetings have been conducted and the sacred books guarded that for some five centuries no major exposure

was made. In 1524 a Damascus pasha attacked al-Baruk and other Druze villages in al-Shuf, pillaged their khalwahs and exhibited their manuscript contents in his capital. Three centuries later, when Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt invaded the country, he looted the important Hasbayya khalwahs and took their books to Cairo, whence some made their way into Europe.

Especially famed and ancient is the Bayyadah khalwah of Hasbayya — overlooking the nursery of Druzism and overlooked by towering Hermon. It serves as a home for a select group of ajawid who lead lives as ascetic as those of a Sufi or a monk though not so designated. At their feet gather daily some twenty "neophytes" for instruction, meditation and prayer. No vows are taken, no celibacy practised and no complete separation from the outside world is required. The ascetic society is sustained by the land held by the khalwah as wakf. The denizens engage in manual labour only, copy sacred books to be granted (not sold) to the qualified and when travelling walk, or ride on humble mounts. Employment by the government is especially shunned, as the earned money may be contaminated having reached government coffers by illegitimate means (*haram*).

Lebanese Shiites (Matawilah), centred in and around Baalbak, Sidon and Tyre (Jabal Amil), had more windows open on the outside world than their Druze neighbours. Their community was more urban. Additional to the prescribed Meccan pilgrimage, their denomination encouraged pilgrimage to al-Najaf and Karbala rendered sacred by the shrines of Ali and al-Husayn. In these two Iraqi shrines the highest institutions of learning developed and attracted students from all over the Shiite world. When at the turn of the sixteenth century Shah Ismail, founder of the Safawid dynasty of Persia, raised Shiah to the rank of state religion, he turned — of all places — to Lebanon for the requisite supply of teachers and theologians. Several Lebanese

scholars migrated there with or without invitation. Notable among them was Baha-al-Din al-Amili, who was born in Baalbak and taken there by his father. The son excelled the father in learning and renown. A jurist-theologian and to a limited extent philosopher-mathematician, Shaykh-i-Bahai, to use the Persian form of his name, was elevated to the shaykhdom of Islam and cast lustre on the court of Shah Abbas at Isfahan. Baha-al-Din died in 1622, leaving a book of legal documents and a large assembly of poems, essays and anecdotes that were printed in Arabic in Egypt and lithographed in Persia.

Whatever Lebanese contacts were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the outside world, they remained sporadic and on an individual basis. Life, in its economic, social and other aspects, continued in its traditional course. For a radical change we have to wait for the nineteenth century beginning with the amirate of Bashir II.

BETWEEN MEDIEVALISM AND MODERNISM

BASHIR II (1788–1840) began where Fakhr-al-Din II (d. 1635) ended. The dawn of a new era of modernization for a greater and independent Lebanon under the Mani amir turned out to be a false one. A century and a half had to elapse before the break with the past could be resumed and a fresh start on the wave of the future made. The amirates of these two lords mark the highest point ever attained by Lebanon in more than three centuries of its feudal career.

Bashir's strong and checkered reign of over half a century, interrupted by self-imposed or enforced exiles, was marked by a steady move toward expanding Lebanon, developing it and making it autonomous in defiance or with the consent of the Porte. The development involved contacts with the outside world, especially the West. To these ends the Lebanese amir shrewdly played off one neighbouring wali against another, generously bought off suspicion at Constantinople and in the meantime ruthlessly dealt with Druze and Christian feudatories who dared stand in his way or considered their heads too high for his club.

The first test of Bashir's statesmanship came in 1799 when Napoleon Bonaparte stood knocking at the gates of Akka. Its defender al-Jazzar requested the amir's support, Napoleon wrote promising the "Druze nation" independence, higher taxes and restoration of Beirut and other seaports essential for the viability of the mountain. The Frenchman knew where the Lebanese shoe pinched. But prudence dictated the "wait-and-see" policy on the part of Bashir. This infuriated al-Jazzar. As the grand vizir,

however, rushed from Constantinople with troops to check the French invader, the amir offered horses and wheat and put the granaries of al-Biqa at his disposal. The reward was swift and generous. A firman made Bashir governor general of the "Mount of the Druzes" together with the Baalbak district, Jubayl district and Jabal Amil, with authority to deal directly with the Porte. But next-door al-Jazzar, emerging victorious over the French general who had overrun Europe and Egypt, was considered too dangerous by Bashir and too powerful for him. He, therefore, boarded a British ship which took him to Cyprus for a few months of exile pending the subsiding of al-Jazzar's wrath. The death of the lord of Akka in 1804 removed out of Bashir's way not only a hostile neighbour but the most powerful rival for supremacy in the area.

Bashir now proceeded to centralize his authority and consolidate his realm. His two local rivals, sons of his predecessor Yusuf, were blinded before execution. Other foes were destroyed. Criminals were dealt with mercilessly. Lebanese folklore is rich in anecdotes memorializing the amir's administration of justice and measures of security. Such anecdotes are still passed on from father to son around charcoal braziers in Lebanese villages during the long winter evenings. The mystery of a murder committed at the mouth of the Damur River, between Beirut and Sidon, was cleared eight months later when two muleteers passing at the scene of the crime made a self-incriminating remark overheard by a secret service man who had been hiding behind a bush throughout that period. A fugitive from justice who had fled to Cyprus was tricked by a disguised agent who followed him to the island, befriended him, entered into a business partnership with him and accompanied him on a business trip to Alexandria on a ship which stopped in Beirut. There the fugitive was apprehended.

The reputation of Bashir's Lebanon spread and attracted new settlers, unhappy minorities of neighbouring lands. Its

tradition as a haven of refuge was thus upheld. Numberless Greek Catholics moved from the Aleppo and Damascus districts, and four hundred Druze families from north Syria migrated to it. Some of these were invited, even subsidized.

With the Ottoman authorities the amir dealt firmly but cautiously. Whenever his country's interest demanded co-operation, it was rendered. In 1810 the Wahhabis of Nejd burst with unabating furore upon their unsuspecting neighbours in the north. Bashir's support of the Ottoman forces in Hawran and Transjordan by 15,000 men sent the invaders back whence they came. Again he was in favour with the Porte which emboldened him to interfere further in Syrian and Palestinian internal affairs and in disputes between walis of Damascus, Tripoli and Sidon. In 1821 he sided with Sidon's wali against the Damascus wali — who was also a viceroy — inflicting on him a humiliating defeat. The sultan had to take strong measures against Bashir which forced him to flee to Egypt. This turned out to be a tragic event for the sultan; it gave the Lebanese governor and the Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali an opportunity to conspire. Both had a common sovereign at whose expense they aspired to expand their territories. Through Muhammad Ali's intercession Bashir was reinstated in the sultan's good graces. He returned to his amirate, more determined than before to pursue his objectives.

Ample revenue and an impelling urge for grandeur inspired public works on an unprecedented scale. Narrow roads were widened and new ones opened; old bridges were repaired and modern ones built. Especially spectacular was a nine-mile aqueduct, constructed high in the mountain to bring the fed-by-snow water of al-Safa spring to the amir's new capital, Bayt al-Din (Btaddin) across the ravine from the old capital Dayr al-Qamar. The sumptuous palace he built took Lebanese architects and Damascene mosaic and marble artisans forty years to complete. It is still a show

place of the country and provides its president with a summer residence. Arabic-reading visitors are charmed by the beautifully engraved verses, composed by his poet-laureate, and the wise sayings of old: "One hour of justice", declares an inscription, "excels a thousand months of devotion". Another asserts: "God rewards him who rules his people with righteousness". Recently discovered documents leave no doubt concerning Bashir's intention to found a dynasty and perpetuate the rule in his progeny.

In the tradition of his house, Bashir followed a liberal, in fact ultra-liberal, policy. His palace contained a mosque as well as a chapel. He himself was Christian by baptism, Moslem in matrimony and Druze by convenience rather than conviction. He opened the door of his country more widely and firmly than under Fakhr-al-Din to Western educational influences. In 1823 the first American missionary in the area took up his residence at Beirut. He was followed by others who founded schools for boys and girls that served as models for native institutions. In 1834 the wife of an American missionary founded in Beirut a girls' school, perhaps the first in the empire. In the same year the American Mission Press was moved to that city from Malta. It is still a flourishing concern, specializing in religious works. Conscious of the medical needs of his country he sent five students to the oldest medical school in the area, that of Cairo, founded by his ally Muhammad Ali. These were the first Lebanese to receive formal medical education. The last decade of his rule ushered Lebanon into the international stage — a position from which it has never since receded.

It began in 1831 when Muhammad Ali launched his military campaign against Turkey via Palestine. The Egyptian viceroy sought the annexation of Syria for services rendered his Ottoman sovereign in the wars against the Greeks and against the Wahhabis of Arabia. Bashir's men now fought side by side with the Egyptians under the walls of

Akka, Tripoli, Hims and Damascus, and contributed to their victory.

Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad Ali and his mailed fist, crossed the Taurus, penetrated the heart of Turkey and threatened the entire empire with destruction. In his daring enterprise he was encouraged by France but opposed by England, which feared the loss of her routes — considered a lifeline — to India and the Orient. A combination of England, Austria and Russia forced the Egyptian retreat and final withdrawal from the entire area. Thus did the Egyptian viceroy's ambition to establish an Arab empire turn out to be a daydream. The idea had not yet struck root in the hearts and minds of the Arab people.

In the pursuit of the war effort the Egypto-Lebanese government's hand lay heavy upon the populace. By forced labour the rare and precious coal and iron of the mountain were mined. The Egyptian army, as in Pharaonic days, had to draw upon the trees of Lebanon. Such groves as that of the pines near Beirut were exploited, again by forced labour. Taxes soared. Especially distasteful to the Lebanese, whose army had always consisted of volunteers or mercenaries, was a new decree entailing sweeping conscription. Uprisings started; they spread. British and Turkish agents supplied money, arms and promises. The amir's threat to execute any of his subjects who sought or accepted aid from a foreign agent proved ineffective. On June 20, 1840, Druzes, Christians, Moslems and Shiites held a national council at Antilyas, near Beirut, bound themselves by an oath at the local Christian church to rise in arms against the tyrannical rule and "fight to restore their independence or die". High on the list of their grievances were forced labour, intolerable taxation and hated conscription. This is perhaps a unique episode in the annals of the area and period — the commonality rising to strike a blow in the cause of democracy.

The insurgents chose a leader from the Khazins, harassed Egyptian troops and pillaged government provisions, while

Anglo-Turkish naval units bombarded Beirut. Traces of the shells can still be seen on the façade of a mosque in the city. On October 10, 1840, Bashir delivered himself to the British and was taken with his twenty-three-year-old wife — originally a Circassian slave —, a retinue of seventy and a gold-filled chest to Malta, whence he was later removed to Constantinople. There he died in 1850. His remains were translated a century later to the grounds of the palace he built and loved at Bayt al-Din. The title by which he has been known, Bashir al-Kabir (the Great), is certainly well merited.

In the 1840s Beirut, with an 8000 population, forged ahead to a position of pre-eminence and international importance among Lebanese seaports, a position that it has maintained. Sidon, with hardly a trace of its former grandeur, offered no competition. Tyre was not yet aroused from its medieval slumber. Tripoli, with a 7000 population, had only one European resident, while Beirut offered hospitality to many consuls-general, American and British missionaries and a growing number of French traders and businessmen. The city boasted a bazaar of Greek and Italian shops. In 1841 a Frenchman opened in a village a silk-reeling factory, the first of its kind in the region. A Scotsman followed with a second factory in another village. Sericulture developed into a leading industry in the country and so remained to the first World War, when most of the mulberry were felled.

The removal of Bashir from the Lebanese scene left the country in a state of instability and disorder, ending the amirate age and ushering in an era in which the mountain was internationally recognized as an autonomous province. The new era began in 1861 and ended in the first World War.

CIVIL DISTURBANCES

THE mid-nineteenth century was a time of trouble not only for Lebanon but for the whole Ottoman Empire. Turkey was declining at an accelerated pace. Its internal weaknesses were exacting their toll and its covetous neighbours were increasing their pressure. Czarist Russia played its active role as protector of the Greek Orthodox subjects of the sultan. If France could pose as protector of the Catholics in Turkey, why could not Russia assume the same role toward her co-religionists there? England sought a comparable point of contact and found it in the Druze community. Concurrently a new imperialist power was emerging, Austro-Hungary, with territorial ambitions to expand eastward at the expense of neighbouring Turkey. All these powers approached what they called the Eastern Question, each from its own economic and maritime interests in an area of supreme geopolitical importance. Bashir's Lebanon, thrust into the Eastern Question, acquired a new dimension, the international one, with which it never parted. It has since played a role in regional as well as international affairs disproportionate to its geographical area and numerical strength.

It was mainly Western powers' jealousies that kept the "sick man of Europe" alive. Czar Nicholas I, who in 1844 so designated Turkey and invited Britain to participate in the burial and share in the heritage, found himself in 1853 fighting a war (the Crimean) against Turkey with Britain on Turkey's side.

On their part certain Ottoman sultans took new measures to ward off the approaching doom. They resorted to reform regulations (*tanzimat*) to ameliorate their subjects' condition and appease the European powers. Mahmud II (1808–39),

during whose reign the Egyptian occupation took place, reorganized civil service, opened medical and other schools, invited experts from Europe, destroyed that most formidable block in the way of progress called Janissaries and strove to break up feudalism in Asia Minor. As a reformer he was preceded by a bold sultan Salim III (1789–1807), and followed by another, his own son Abd-al-Majid (1839–61). The reforms of Abd-al-Majid aimed at centralization. But all those attempts at reform were not adequately implemented. It was during the reign of this last ruler that Lebanon experienced civil disturbances unprecedented in its annals, disturbances that marked the end of its feudal amirate and the beginning of the *mutasarrifiyah* (governorship), in which a non-Lebanese Christian governor general, sent from Constantinople, held the supreme authority.

The seeds of the bitter fruit of the strife which culminated in the massacre of 1860 were sown in the reign of Bashir II. Christians from Syria were attracted to his realm, and those from north Lebanon to the Shuf district, considered by the Druzes as their national home. Having been more responsive to educational and other cultural influences now penetrating from the West, these Christians soon outdistanced their Druze neighbours in the economic and social race. Especially aggravating to the Druzes was Bashir's sending (1840) Maronites to suppress the Druze revolt against his ally Ibrahim Pasha in Hawran.

Down to the 1840s bloody conflicts in the mountain did not take a confessional but a feudal partisan form: Qaysi against Yamani, Yazbaki against Janbalati, on either side of which Christians and Druzes fought against their own co-religionists. Travellers and observers had been unanimous in their favourable comments on the amicable Druze-Christian relations. But now the Druzes of al-Shuf became conscious of the fact that Christians, though still inferior in number, were becoming disproportionately influential in

financial and state affairs. Concurrently the Porte became convinced that Lebanon had gone too far in its separatist policy and that it was time to check it. "Divide and rule" seemed to be the wise procedure.

The Porte, therefore, immediately after Bashir's deposition, directly interfered and appointed another Shihabi, Bashir III (1840–2), as "amir of the mountain of the Druzes". Though a Christian this Bashir had been an Ottoman-British collaborator and was now ready to serve as a tool of imperial policies. Except in name all similarity between him and his predecessor was purely accidental. The first Christian-Druze conflagration followed his accession, continued throughout his rule, culminating in the burning of Dayr al-Qamar, the leading and most powerful Christian town in al-Shuf. Other towns and villages in al-Gharb shared the same fate. As Maronites fled to Beirut they were attacked, men and women, by Turkish troops, ostensibly rushed to restore order. The treatment gave rise to the saying, "We would rather be plundered by Druzes than protected by Turks". Druze consideration for harem had always been a notable feature of their social tradition. A joint note by the French, British and Russian consuls in Beirut to the Ottoman authorities mentioned widespread rumours that Druzes had taken up arms following secret orders from the government, that Turkish officers in Dayr al-Qamar had disarmed the populace, that the Druze feudal chief of Hawran had received orders to march with Turkish irregulars against Zahlah and disarm its Christian population. But the authorities paid no heed and took no steps toward reimbursement, retribution or repatriation in the afflicted district. Aside from the loss of lives and property on both sides this first conflict left a feeling of mutual suspicion and ill will. It established a precedent.

Early in 1842 incompetent Bashir was deposed and sent to Constantinople. He was the last of the Shihabi amirs.

The Porte appointed in his place a renegade Austro-Hungarian, Umar Pasha al-Namsawi, who had entered Lebanon with the Ottoman army that drove Ibrahim out. The reasoning behind the appointment was that autonomy had failed in Lebanon and Meronite-Druze collaboration was no longer possible. The new pasha took up residence in the amir's palace at Bayt al-Din. Predictably, he was unable to cope with the realities of the strange and complicated situation. He failed to win the loyalty of either Christians or Druzes. This was the first attempt to impose on Lebanon direct Ottoman rule and it proved to be a dismal failure. The Porte resorted to a new scheme: bisecting the mountain into two districts, a northern under a Christian *qaim-maqam* (sub-governor) and a southern under a Druze *qaim-maqam*, both responsible to the Moslem wali of Sidon residing in Beirut. The Beirut-Damascus road was chosen as the dividing line. France advocated a united Lebanon again under a Shihabi. Constantinople itself was not convinced of the success of its novel scheme, but was determined to demonstrate that all forms of native rule of the country were bound to fail. The total population was then 213,070, of whom 95,350 were Maronites, 41,000 Greek Catholics, 28,500 Greek Orthodox, 35,600 Druzes, 12,330 Matawilah and 200 Jews. In the struggle Greek Catholics, but not Orthodox, collaborated with Maronites.

The new solution aggravated rather than assuaged the tension. The two districts had a mixed Christian-Druze population. Dayr al-Qamar, a Maronite-Catholic stronghold with 8000 inhabitants, lay in the heart of Druze al-Shuf.

The gathering cloud burst again in the spring of 1845, leaving ruined Druze and Christian villages in its wake. Turkish troops repeated the performance of 1842. The Porte rushed its minister of foreign affairs, who confirmed the political setup and introduced no remedies. At this critical time north Lebanon Maronites started an internal social upheaval aimed at the casting off of their feudal

tutelage. In 1858–9 an extraordinary event took place, a peasant uprising, headed by a farrier from an obscure village (Rayfun) hidden high in the mountain. The rebels stripped the Khazins, feudatories of Kisrawan, of their landed property and distributed it among tenants and peasants. In this they had the blessing of the clergy, mostly of low origin, and the sympathy of the French. A peasant commonwealth was proclaimed. These Maronites of the north were in no position to offer substantial support to their harassed co-religionists in the south, but their success encouraged the south Maronites in their uprising against their Druze feudal lords. The Druzes, on the other hand, continued to present a united front under a common feudal leadership, giving them a decided advantage over their opponents at the third and most disastrous round, that of 1860.

This round found the Christians as disorganized, undisciplined, unprepared and leaderless as the earlier ones. In marked contrast their adversaries, fighting for their threatened supremacy and feudal way of life and posing as champions of Islam, had laid out careful plans and gained sympathy and support from Turks and nearby Moslems. Especially helpful was Khurshid Pasha of Beirut, who allegedly supplied them with arms.

No sooner had sporadic cases of violence in the mixed districts of al-Matn and al-Shuf begun (April 1860) than the flare-up spread. In a few weeks more than sixty villages lay in ashes. Promised help from Christian Kisrawan and north Lebanon did not materialize, but that from Druze Hawran did.

The turn of the large towns came. The procedure followed generally the same pattern. Local Ottoman garrison commanders would offer the Christian population asylum, ask them to surrender their arms and then leave them at the mercy of their antagonists. Such was the fate of Dayr al-Qamar, Jazzin, Hasbayya, Rashayya and finally Zahlah, the largest in the mountain with a 12,000 population mostly

Greek Catholic. Hasbayya's population was Greek Orthodox. The towns were sacked and mostly burned. Refugees to Damascus, Beirut and Sidon were exposed to attacks by Turkish irregulars *en route* as well as by those cities' Moslems.

From Lebanon the spark flew to Damascus and ignited a reservoir of ill feeling generated by Ibrahim's liberal policy toward Christians. Some 11,000 perished in the Syrian capital; perhaps twice as many had perished in Lebanon.

At last the great powers bestirred themselves. France, which took the initiative, dispatched 7000 troops, but before they landed in Beirut (August 1860) Fuad Pasha, Ottoman foreign minister, had arrived there and proceeded to deal sternly with officials who connived at or collaborated with the criminals as well as with the criminals themselves. A hundred and eleven soldiers were shot and a few civilians hanged. He then set up an international commission to determine guilt, ascertain indemnity and work out a plan for the future government of Lebanon. As presiding officer, Fuad outwitted, outmanœuvred, outplayed his French and British colleagues, who were generally followed by the Prussian, Austrian and Russian members. He meantime took full advantage of Franco-British jealousies and rivalries in the area.

Of the 4600 Druzes listed as guilty, 48 were condemned to death, 11 sentenced to life imprisonment and others to shorter periods or exile. But few of these sentences were carried out. Six months later some of those sent to exile reappeared in Beirut on the way back to their villages. Khurshid's neck was spared but not that of the Damascus' pasha or Hasbayya's garrison commander. Minor officials were banished. When the indemnity for losses and damages was fixed at £1,250,000 and the Druze liability was determined, Fuad generously offered to have the whole paid by the imperial treasury. A small fraction was paid and the account was closed. The refugees were left at the mercy of

starvation, disease and a hostile environment. There to be forgotten. A general amnesty was declared. The curtain fell on the darkest two decades Lebanon has thus far experienced in Ottoman history.

The commission next addressed itself to the reorganization or creation of a new form of government for the unhappy area. Conflicting views were, after prolonged debates, reconciled. The points of agreement were expressed in an organic statute signed by France, Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia in Constantinople on June 9, 1861. Revised on September 6, 1864, the statute was adhered to by the newly born European power, Italy, in 1867. The new instrument recognized and guaranteed the autonomy of Lebanon, but not the Lebanon of Fakhr-al-Din and Bashir, rather one stripped of its maritime and inter-mountain plains with their cities and reduced to its mountainous area. Access to the sea was lost. These plains, it should be recalled, were rendered fertile by top soil swept from the mountain by rain and wind and by streams fed from its snow. The new state was to be under a Christian governor general (*mutasarrif*) designated by the Porte but approved by the signatory powers. The mutasarrif's tenure was fixed at five years but renewable. The amirate gave way to a mutasarrifiyah. As chief executive of the mutasarrifiyah of Mount Lebanon (Jabal Lubnan), with responsibility directly to the Porte, the mutasarrif's duties embraced collecting taxes — to be spent in Lebanon —, appointing judges, enforcing courts' sentences and maintaining security and order. Provision was made for an elective administrative council of twelve representatives of the religious communities to assist him. Confessionalism is still a recognized principle in elections to parliament under the Republic. The country was divided into seven districts each under a local deputy governor determined by the prevailing religious community of each district. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in cases of personal status and cases involving

only clergy was maintained. Feudal privileges were abolished. No Turkish troops were to be quartered in the area, no military service was incumbent on its citizens and no tribute was due the Porte. Not only that but the Porte was to underwrite any deficit in the annual Lebanese budget. This allowed Lebanon to enjoy a much lower level of taxation than other Ottoman provinces.

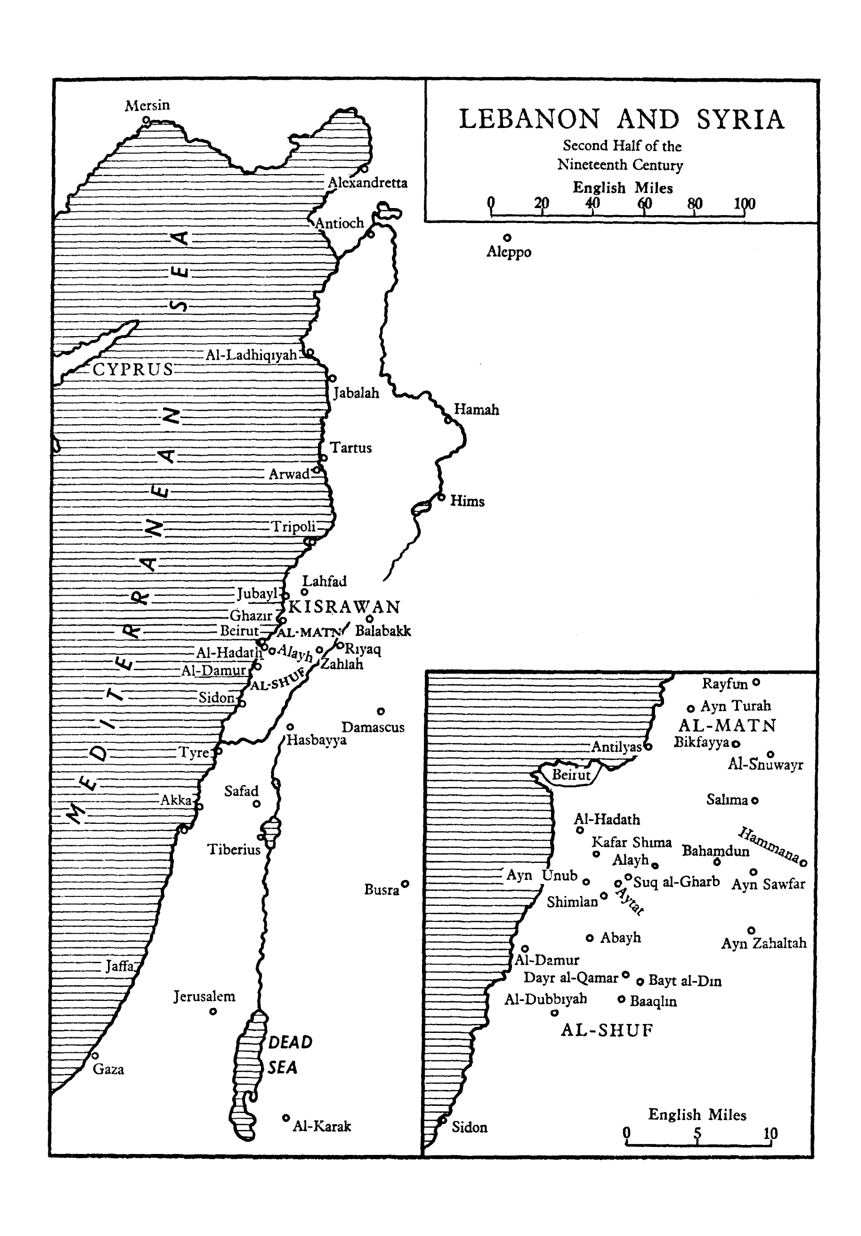
Of the signatory powers the leading one, Turkey, must have cherished the conviction that the mountainous state was inviable and, therefore, a brief seventeen-article code that could barely cover more than a couple of sheets of paper would be good enough. The surprising thing, as it turned out to be, is not only that the state survived till the first World War but that, thanks to the resourcefulness, industry, thrift and self-reliance of its citizens, it registered a record of prosperity, security and progress that made it the envy of other provinces in the Ottoman Empire.

MOUNT LEBANON UNDER MUTASARRIFS

FIRST to govern an internationally recognized and guaranteed autonomous Lebanon was a Catholic Armenian, ex-director of telegraph at Constantinople. His successors were likewise Catholics, a recognition of Maronite preponderance in the mountain. Daud Pasha took up his residence at the Shihabi palace in Bayt al-Din. The first major problem that faced his administration involved a Maronite nationalist uprising which objected to the non-nativity of the new governor. The movement was headed by a gallant, dashing, good-looking, French-schooled young man from Ihdin, Yusuf Karam. He, of course, aspired for the high position. The statute made no reference to the illegibility of a native Christian. Daud offered Yusuf the deputy governorship of Jazzin, which he spurned. The rebel chief addressed appeals to France and the Vatican, but received no encouragement. Nor did he receive support from the clergy. A few bloody battles crushed all opposition and the leader spent the rest of his life in exile.

Opposition to the new order flared from another quarter, traditional Druze feudatories. It received popular support because of increased taxation. Daud managed to weather this storm, too, and established tranquillity. He made the new constitution work. Here is a quotation from a speech summing up his philosophy of governing:

> A doctor fell sick, called in a fellow-physician and said to him, "We are three: you, I and the disease. Help me and we shall overcome the disease; don't, and the disease will overcome us both." So in Lebanon we are three: you the people, I the governor and the traditional animosity of the communities in the country. Help me and we shall overcome animosity. Help it, and you will ruin both me and yourselves.



LEBANON AND SYRIA
Second Half of the Nineteenth Century
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Mersin
Alexandretta
Antioch
Aleppo
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Al-Ladhiqiyah
Jabalah
Hamah
Tartus
Arwad
Hims
Tripoli
Lahfad
Jubayl
KISRAWAN
Ghazir
Beirut
AL-MATN
Balabakk
Al-Hadath
Alayh
Riyaq
Al-Damur
Zahlah
AL-SHUF
Sidon
Damascus
Hasbayya
Tyre
Safad
Akka
Tiberius
Busra
Jaffa
Jerusalem
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Al-Karak
Rayfun
Ayn Turah
AL-MATN
Antilyas
Bikfayya
Al-Snuwayr
Beirut
Salima
Al-Hadath
Hammana
Kafar Shima
Bahamdun
Alayh
Ayn Unub
Suq al-Gharb
Ayn Sawfar
Shimlan
Aytat
Abayh
Ayn Zahaltah
Al-Damur
Dayr al-Qamar
Bayt al-Din
Al-Dubbiyah
Baaqlin
AL-SHUF
Sidon
English Miles
0 5 10

A tormented, self-divided people evidently responded. Their new mutasarrif proceeded constructively and courageously. He had no hesitancy in transmitting to Constantinople a request from the people of Sidon for reattachment to the mountain, adding his own request for al-Biqa's reattachment. In both requests he was, of course, rebuffed. Realizing the primary importance of communication he started a wide road linking his capital and its neighbour Dayr al-Qamar to Beirut. Improved under his two immediate successors, this highway was the first in a network of macadamized roads with hair-pin curves that zigzagged the mountain. The backbone of the whole system, however, was the Beirut-Damascus highway, from which radiated roads north and south and contributed to making of a mountainous country the best road-traversed one in western Asia. This main artery between the seaboard and inland was completed in 1863, after five years' work, by a French company. The company provided regular diligence service, twice a day, between the two terminal cities, a sixty-mile distance covered in fourteen hours. Carriages began to make their appearance. Dependence on mule transportation was no longer complete.

Early in his governorship Daud sponsored at Abayh a high school which still bears his name. It received support from Druze pious foundation. What makes this institution especially remarkable is its having been the only one of its kind founded by the mutasarrifiyah throughout its duration. All other schools owed their existence to missionary activity or private enterprise. Missionary work was facilitated by the 1867 decree allowing foreigners to hold property. Schools multiplied; colleges were founded; printed books and newspapers commenced. Lebanon was being revitalized, as we shall learn later.

But progress was not all in a straight upward line. Daud resigned a year before his period's expiration, presumably under pressure from above. The same authority ordered the

screws to be tightened on all publications, and espionage became more rife.

The series of eight mutasarrifs inaugurated by Daud Pasha deteriorated as it unrolled itself. Most of the mutasarrifs coveted above all the favour of the Porte in the hope of personal reward, on their return, with higher or more remunerative posts. Perhaps only the second successor, Rustum Pasha (1873–83), exercised more courage and displayed more concern for the welfare of the people than all others. An Italian nobleman by birth, former Ottoman ambassador to St. Petersburg and future ambassador to London, Rustum challenged the mounting influence of the Maronite clergy, which Daud had won to the new order. With the collapse of the Maronite feudal system the ecclesiastical hierarchy aspired to fill the vacancy. Rustum collected from the imperial treasury, in accordance with the statute's provision, an annual national deficit of 25,000 Turkish pounds. But he was later instructed to forget that provision. This necessitated a fifty per cent reduction in officials' salaries and opened the door wide for bribery and corruption under his successor. Even that successor himself was not above suspicion. On his death and burial in Lebanon a poet sang "Drop ye a coin on the stone of his tomb, and I guarantee his rising from the dead".

The economic pinch was especially felt by manual labourers and farmers. Exodus from Lebanon in search of a more abundant life — to be discussed later — began and has not yet ceased.

The first year of Na"um Pasha's governorship (1892–1902) was marked by beginning work on the Beirut-Damascus-Hawran railway, again by a French company. Completed four years later the railway opened a new era in transportation. It served as a trunk for branches that linked Lebanon not only to Syria but also to Turkey, Iraq, Palestine, Egypt and thence to the rest of the world. Local agitations

concomitant on the Young Turks' revolution in 1908 featured the undistinguished governorship of Yusuf Franco (1907–12), son of the second pasha in the series. Franco's successor, last in the series, shared with the first Armenian nativity, but no ability. He was deposed in August 1915 and replaced by a Turk.

Therewith the era of Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifiyah came to an end. Direct Turkish rule commenced, but did not last beyond the end of the first World War.

The mutasarrifs' incompetence and subservience to Constantinople notwithstanding, Mount Lebanon — thanks to the energy and open-mindedness of its inhabitants —achieved a measure of material and intellectual progress unattained by any other Ottoman province. Its rock-strewn slopes were gradually lined with series of terraces to hold soil and water and provide room for mulberry trees, vineyards and other orchards that encircled the mountain and looked like hanging gardens. New settlements dotted the reclaimed area. The general opinion that the mountain was better governed, more prosperous and more peaceful than its more fertile neighbours found expression in the saying: "Happy is he who owns but a goat's enclosure in Lebanon".

Stimulation for both economic and intellectual progress came from the West. The tragic events of 1860 aroused interest in Christian Europe that expressed itself in philanthropic and educational institutions. Once started such institutions tend to perpetuate themselves. French and other Catholic establishments resumed work with renewed energy. To a nuns' order operating in the country since pre-1860 days were added other orders which opened orphanages and day and boarding schools for girls not only in towns like Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Zahlah but in villages like Hammana. As early as 1853 an indigenous order of nuns, named Maryamat (Mariamettes) and modelled after a French order, was founded as Bikfayya and began opening elementary

schools. At the same time Jesuit schools for boys were spreading in the mountain and were not limited to sizable towns like Zahlah and Jazzin. In 1875 the forty-nine-year-old seminary of Ghazir was transferred to Beirut to become the nucleus of the renowned Université Saint-Joseph. Eight years later the French ministry of education authorized an annual subsidy for opening a school of medicine to which was attached one of pharmacy. Engineering, law and dentistry were added later. The university is noted for its faculties of theology and Oriental studies. With it was joined the Imprimerie Catholique, founded in 1853, and still considered one of the best equipped printing presses in the Orient. While its first concern was religious works, it has contributed immeasurably to spreading knowledge of Arab history, literature and culture.

The hospitality extended by Lebanese to Catholic missionaries was also extended to Protestant missionaries, though at the beginning not so heartily. In October 1860 the British Syrian Mission entered the field with schools for boys and girls in Beirut, Zahlah, Baalbak, Hasbayya, even tiny Ayn Zahaltah and tinier Shimlan. Its training college for girls at Beirut has not ceased to produce teachers of repute. Before the end of that year Prussian deaconesses specializing in orphan and hospital work were operating at Sidon. Their centre was shortly afterward removed to Beirut to join a hospital founded by Prussian Knights of Saint John. This Johanniter Hospital, the first modern one in the area, was later affiliated with the school of medicine of the Syrian Protestant, founded in 1866. Now the American University of Beirut, with schools of arts and sciences, medicine, pharmacy, nursing, engineering and agriculture, this institution is considered the most influential American centre of learning abroad. It attracts students from western Asia and eastern Africa and has a cosmopolitan faculty. With its French neighbour, Université Saint-Joseph, it has been responsible for introducing and spreading modern sciences and research into the Near East.

The Syrian Protestant College climaxed the missionary educational effort which had begun more than sixty years earlier and extended its missions and schools to the remotest parts of the country. They extended from Hasbayya in the south through Sidon, Abayh and Suq al-Gharb to Tripoli in the north. Several of these schools are still open; certain, like that of Suq al-Gharb, are under indigenous management. They continue to supply the American University of Beirut with an annual stream of freshmen.

Three years before the turn of the century a suburb of Beirut, al-Asfuriyah, furnished a site for the earliest institution for treating the mentally ill. The institution owed its inception to a German-Swiss missionary who was responsible for a Friends' Mission station at Brummana on an overlooking hill. Until then prayer, charms, magic and incantation or confinement — at times with chains — were the classical treatments for exorcizing the possessing evil spirit. Maronites sent their insane to a solitary monastery, Qazhayya, deep in a valley near Qadisha, for confinement in cells and in dependence on monks' prayers for care. In 1909 another remarkable institution, a sanatorium for tuberculosis, made its appearance at a suburb of Juniyah on the coast. The founder was Mary Eddy, of a well-known American missionary family in Sidon. Dr. Eddy was reputedly the first licensed woman physician in the Ottoman Empire. The sanatorium was later moved to a pine-covered crest of the mountain near Hammana, al-Shabaniyah. Not only were these two humanitarian institutions pioneers in their fields but they are still leaders, and perhaps the best equipped. Their management is almost entirely in native hands.

While Lebanon in the second half of the nineteenth century was opening its doors to teachers, preachers, physicians, nurses, technicians from abroad, it was closing them behind some of its sons who were ambitious and not satisfied with the meagre resources and limited opportunities it

offered. Pressure from increased population in a small mountainous land, where soil was less fertile than its women, found a safety valve in migration. Other peoples facing a similar problem might have solved it by lowering further a scale of living already low, but not the Lebanese. Their tradition for diaspora, going back to their Phoenician ancestors, had not been dead.

The valley of the Nile was the obvious first attraction. For a time after the British occupation (1882) Egypt was still considered a part of the Ottoman Empire and migration to it permissible. Under the British it offered a wider and richer field for employment and business as well as a freer climate for intellectual and literary activity. In special demand were European-educated physicians, pharmacists, accountants and clerks. The two American and French universities of Beirut and colleges modelled after them could meet the administrative and military needs in the governments of Egypt and the Sudan. But employment was not all. Those with intellectual and literary ambitions started their own printing presses and founded newspapers and magazines. Among the earlier and most enduring of such publications were *al-Muqattam*, *al-Ahram*, *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Hilal*. Their influence spread all over the Arab world and contributed to its intellectual renaissance.

In the wake of the educated and intellectual Lebanese and Syrian migrants, followed the traders and businessmen. To them Egypt with its large and accessible market was indeed a land of promise. Some of the largest stores there that have survived to the present are the product of their enterprise. By 1907 the Syro-Lebanese wealth in Egypt was estimated at one-tenth of that of the country.

Other businessmen ventured farther. In such commercial centres as Marseille, Paris, London and Manchester they founded commission agencies to supply the growing demands of Beiruti merchants for cotton, woollen and other manufactured goods and for machinery. But the "golden fleece"

glittered in a more western horizon. In the mid-nineteenth century Lebanese discovered the New World. In 1849 a Greek Catholic priest from Khansharah (al-Shuwayr) landed in the United States to raise money for the restoration of his monastery destroyed in the unhappy events of that decade. A more fully recorded story is that of Antun al-Bishalani, a Maronite from Salima, who after two years' study in a New York seminary died (1856) and was buried in Brooklyn. Not only did Lebanese discover America but they sold it to the rest of the Arab world and supplied it with the largest contingent of emigrants. It is, however, known that in the eighteenth century Moslem Arab slaves from North Africa were sold in the American market and that lists of passenger ships in the 1830s reveal by their names that they came from "Turkey in Asia".

The story of thousands of humble Lebanese uprooted from villages, undertaking long perilous journeys, planting themselves in urban communities with different soil and climate as helpless, penniless, friendless emigrants became a part of Lebanese saga. The measure of success achieved has been fully dramatized by folklorists as well as *littérateurs*. But the story of the numberless who succumbed in the struggle for existence found no eloquent and facile narrators back in the homeland, with the result that the tide of the movement swelled especially after 1890.

With as light baggage in their hands as in their heads the newcomers were sprinkled from the Atlantic seaboard to the farthest city in the United States. Some found their way to Canada, Central and South America. Australia and New Zealand received their quotas as did West and South Africa. Next to the Cairo colony, that of São Paulo became the wealthiest. Between 1900 and 1914 the 400,000 population of Lebanon was estimatedly diminished by a fourth. Government statistics released at the end of 1959 gave 400,110 as the number of emigrants in the United States, 364,812 in Brazil, 150,302 in Argentina, 128,356 in Africa and a grand

total of 1,143,040 — almost equivalent to the population of the country. Lebanese speak of two Lebanons: a resident and an emigrant. A new movement was recently set on foot to bring together the existing Lebanese clubs and societies abroad into a world organization. In 1962 the first World Lebanese Union meeting was held in Boston, Massachusetts, and attended by the minister of foreign affairs and emigration from Beirut.

The first World War and its aftermath dammed the emigration stream to the United States. Under pressure of wartime emotion the Congress passed laws (1917–24) imposing a literacy test, establishing a numerical basis for admission and finally fixing a quota for every country. The poetic invitation of the Lady of Liberty at New York port, broadcasting since 1886 to the "poor, tired and homeless" to enter the "golden doors", changed its tone.

Wherever the Lebanese went, he took his cuisine, church and Arabic press. The press was cradled and nurtured in his country. As in Cairo so in Paris, London, New York, Mexico City, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, Arabic newspapers were founded. Some of the earliest in New York and São Paulo are still flourishing. A census of periodicals taken in 1929 credits North and Central America with 102, of which 71 are newspapers, and South America with 166, of which 134 are newspapers. Lebanese colonies enriched the contemporary Arab world with some of its tenderest, most original and most influential poets and writers. They created a new school of thought and style. New imagery, new expressions and more importantly new ideas had such an impact upon a conventional, traditional and stagnant heritage that resulted in an unending chain reaction. Two of the most dynamic forces, relayed by Lebanese to their old compatriots by publications, letters and return visits, were democracy and nationalism. Of both we shall hear later.

It is this migration of ideas and institutions, concomitant on migration of peoples, that makes peoples' mobility a meaningful phenomenon in the history of civilization throughout all lands and at all times. More conspicuous, however, was the material contribution made by emigrant to resident Lebanon. Today hardly a village or town of its 1600 settlements fails to exhibit a cluster of red-tile-roofed houses built by money from abroad. The pioneers' dream was to amass a fortune hurriedly and return home to enjoy it leisurely. With the shattering of the early dream remittances to relatives did not wholly cease. In the First World War such aid was responsible for saving thousands of lives from starvation. As late as 1951 and 1952 emigrants' remittances to charitable, religious and educational institutions, plus those to relatives and friends, reportedly amounted to $18,000,000 and $22,000,000 respectively. In their diaspora, nevertheless, Lebanese emigrants integrated themselves with their new countrymen more readily than any other people of Near Eastern origin, including Jews.

TRANSFORMATION: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL

CHANGES in the varied aspects of Lebanese life, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to which Lebanese abroad contributed, were both radical and lasting. They were mainly due to the impact of the West and resulted in transforming a medieval society to a modernist one. Proximity to the sea, preponderance of the Christian element and a tradition of Western orientation made the people especially receptive to the new stimuli. A simple but dynamic discovery was made that man could alter his life by altering his state of mind. Progress, it was realized, was change from a state considered imperfect to one seemingly better. It presupposes belief in unrealized possibilities and involves self-criticism and desire for self-renewal. No such thorough changes had affected the Lebanese image since Crusading days.

Of these changes the economic was the first and least painful. It involved no undue stress on ingrained loyalties. Hitherto agriculture was the predominant pattern of living and consisted largely of the subsistence as opposed to the commercial variety. The farmer generally produced a sufficiency for his family and no more. The craftsman operated with hand tools and on a village basis. Business partnership was normally limited to members of the same family. "Familyness" or neighbourliness featured in economic as well as social relations. The personal touch characterized all human affairs. The family, whether Christian or Moslem, was of the patriarchal type, familiar since biblical days, consisting of three generations living under the same roof and dominated by the senior member. Marriages were

arranged by parents and restricted to close relatives.

Social change involved emotion, entailed strain and tension and was therefore more difficult and slow. Family loyalty was one of three dominant forces in village life, the other being devotion to ancestral religion and attachment to soil. The three interdepended. Emigration combated the idea that loyalty to family or its tribal extension, loyalty to church and to soil offered better opportunities for welfare than blazing new trails. In the revised scale of values, "belongingness" ranked low. Under the influence of Western and Western-modelled schools the structure of the traditional family was disrupted. It was replaced by the small unit consisting of husband, wife and children if any. More than that, the larger structure of society began to show cracks, as the masses discovered the simple fact that poverty was not a fate (kismet) decreed by Allah to be endured by man but a social evil to be combated. This was a corollary of the momentous discovery noted above.

Hitherto Lebanese society, in common with every other Near Eastern society, consisted practically of two classes, an upper and a lower. With the increasing modern-educated men, recruited chiefly from the lower rank and comprising lawyers, physicians, teachers and businessmen, a middle class was created. It wedged itself in and inched its way upwards to wrest in due course financial and political power from the aristocracy. Rigidity in the social structure yielded to mobility. The new ideas were potent enough to break through the crusty rigidity and stubborn complacency of the *status quo*. Thus by turning its back on the old economic and social pattern rooted in the soil and held together by an ethnic or blood bond, the Lebanese community took a long stride on the way leading to participation in world civilization.

All change, whether economic, social or political, presupposes a change in mental attitude, generally the result of education, formal or informal. No sooner was it realized that

Western-style schooling enhanced prestige and improved earning power than institutions of higher learning began to sprout following Latin or Anglo-Saxon models. The new institutions were due to church — not state — private initiative. In 1875 the Maronite bishop of Beirut founded a college (*collège*) that was followed by two started by the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic bishops. They introduced French and employed foreign teachers. All three are still flourishing in the capital of the Lebanese Republic. In 1897 the first modernized Moslem institution of higher learning was established by an Azhari shaykh.

For the spread of knowledge not only schools but learned societies, printing presses, magazines and newspapers are essential. One of the earlier literary and scientific societies (al-Jamʿiyah al-ʿIlmiyah al-Suriyah) reorganized in 1868, held regular meetings, issued a monthly magazine and published papers read at its sessions. It embraced in its membership Christians, Moslems, Druzes and at least one American, missionary Eli Smith. No such collective effort has been hitherto recorded in the intellectual history of the country or even the Arab East. It was at a secret session of this society that a twenty-one-year-old Christian recited an original poem (to be quoted later) that sounded the clarion call to the Arabs to rise against the Turks.

Prior to the founding of the American Mission Press and the Imprimerie Catholique, Lebanon could boast a press in Qazhayya, which had published as early as 1610 the Psalms in Arabic but in Syriac characters. These characters are still considered sacred by the Maronite Church. Another Maronite monastery, Tamish, overlooking the Dog River gorge, acquired after 1855 a press with Arabic characters. Long before Tamish, a Greek Orthodox monastery in Beirut had published (1751) the Psalms in Arabic characters. The original source of all three presses was probably Rome. Moslems were hesitant to use the printed type because of the close association of handwriting to the Koran. Even today

only lithographing is allowed in its case. The first books published were, as expected, translations. The earliest and most significant project of the American press was the rendering of the Bible into easy-to-understand but grammatically sound Arabic. What was almost equally important was making the Scriptures available at a low or no price. Any current copies then were based on the version printed in Rome 1671. The Psalms became the textbook from which Christian children learned their ABC. Translated from the original languages the new version did not depart from the phraseology of the old, dedicated by long usage, except for sufficient reason. The New Testament was issued in 1860, the Old five years later. With Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck three Lebanese scholars collaborated: Butrus al-Bustani, Nasif al-Yaziji and Yusuf al-Asir. Al-Bustani did the first draft from Hebrew. Eli Smith was a graduate of Yale University and of Andover Theological Seminary. Van Dyck (d. 1895) was a physician, mathematician, linguist and author who adorned the chair of pathology and astronomy at the Syrian Protestant College and later organized the Greek Orthodox Hospital at Beirut. Al-Asir (d. 1889) was a graduate of al-Azhar; he taught at the teachers' college of Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College and the Greek Catholic one at Beirut and specialized in Arabic language and Islamic law.

The Catholic version of the Bible followed. Corrected by Ibrahim al-Yaziji (d. 1900), son of Nasif and a greater grammarian and *littérateur*, this translation — not made from original sources — excelled in its Arabic style. Both translations were epoch making not only in their spiritual but also in their literary influence. They facilitated religious education and pioneered, in what may be styled neo-classical Arabic, the type used today throughout the Arab world in journals, magazines and books.

Al-Bustani (1819–83) was the most learned and most productive scholar of his age. His textbook on grammar

simplified and modernized that of an earlier one by a Maronite bishop, that on mathematics benefited from English texts; both served succeeding generations of young students. Al-Bustani's two-volume Arabic-to-Arabic dictionary was the first alphabetically arranged and, though unrevised, has not yet been superseded. Nor has its condensation. The author was an editor and a journalist, too. He edited six volumes of the first Arabic encyclopaedia. He founded a newspaper, a weekly periodical and a fortnightly magazine. His newspaper appeared in 1860, shortly after the birth of Arabic journalism in Lebanon. Khalil al-Khuri, born in al-Shu-wayfat, issued in 1858 the first newspaper in the proper sense. His *Hadiqat al-Akhbar* (orchard of news) survived as a private publication until 1911. Beirut has since become one of the greatest, if not the greatest, newspaper centres in the Arab world. Al-Bustani's contemporary, Nasif al-Yaziji (d. 1871), likewise authored texts that have not yet become obsolete. His fame rests on a grammar and a collection of sixty literary essays.

It was Ibrahim, son of this Nasif, who recited a poem beginning:

> Arise, O Arabs, from sleep awake!
> Knee-deep ye have sunk in misery's lake.

That was regarded as the first shot in a battle that lasted for half a century. The political awakening which sparked Arab nationalism came as a logical sequence to the intellectual awakening. Modern nationalism, it should be remembered, was a product of late eighteenth-century revolutionary France, with its slogan of "equality, fraternity, liberty". Western-educated Lebanese were its logical liaison officers. Moslems hesitated to accept the novel doctrine, and when they did, it was mixed up with Pan-Islam and tied to the rising aspirations of the masses. As a secular movement with emphasis on economic values and transcendent loyalty to a community — irrespective of religious affiliation — within a geographic unity, nationalism clearly conflicted with Islam,

Islam with its spiritual values and insistence on loyalty to the community of believers regardless of locality. Classical Arabic vocabulary provides no terms for the revolutionary, militant concepts implied in nationalism, patriotism, fatherland, liberty, democracy. For all these, new terms, mostly translations, had to be coined or old terms adapted. Arabic did have a word for liberty, but it meant the opposite of slavery.

The centre for the newly imported doctrine soon shifted from Beirut to Cairo which, under the British, enjoyed a larger measure of freedom of expression. Its advocates, however, remained for a time the same. Here Arab nationalism developed on a wide base, with the thesis that the "sons of the Arabic language" constituted one nation toward the full realization of which all should strive. It opposed Pan-Arabism to Pan-Islamism. But as this fragile nascent movement was confronted with purely local problems it was fragmented. In Egypt opposition to British rule became the nationalist touchstone. Egyptian nationalism was born. "Egypt for the Egyptians" became the slogan. In Lebanon opposition to the Young Turks' policy of Ottomanization, launched after they came to power in 1908 and deposed Abd-al-Hamid in 1909, resulted in parting company with the general movement and starting on a separatist form. The same was true of Syria. Until the first World War the entire nationalist movement was intellectual. It then began to seep down and agitate the masses, and the deeper it went the more diluted it became.

The Young Turks, lacking in international experience but not in enthusiasm for reform and eagerness for steering the empire on the path of progress, plunged it (October 1914) into the war, on the Central Powers' side, leading it to its ruin. They lost no time in sending one of their leaders, Jamal Pasha, as military governor of Syria and commander-in-chief of the fourth army. In his turn Jamal lost no time in dealing with Lebanon, considered the more disloyal of

the two countries. In August 1915 he abolished Lebanon's half-century autonomy. The country entered upon a three-year direct Turkish rule, the longest and darkest period of its history under the star-and-crescent flag. Before the end of that month a military court was instituted in Lebanon's favourite summer resort, Alayh. Guilt by association, membership in a censor-compiled black-listed club or society, occurrence of a critical remark in a letter from a relative or friend abroad were all punishable. Political and religious leaders were sent into exile. Those Lebanese or Syrians convicted of sympathy with the French or the Sherif Husayn of Mecca were sent to the gallows. This descendant of the Prophet and governor of Hijaz had raised the banner of rebellion against Constantinople and in 1916 declared himself "king of the Arabs". On May 6 of that year fourteen Christians and Moslems were hanged in Beirut and seven in Damascus. Others followed. A martyrs' day is commemorated in both countries, and both capitals have today a Sahat al-Shuhada (martyrs' square). Jamal earned his new title al-Saffah (blood-shedder).

But oppression was not limited to individuals. Jamal imposed military conscription, requisitioned beasts of burden, used crops for troops and trees as fuel for trains and camps. Allied blockade of the coast interfered with the import of food, clothing and medical supplies. Prices rocketed. Turkish paper money was introduced for the first time in the history of the land. A few individuals flourished through catering to the authorities, smuggling and other illegitimate means, but the bulk of the population suffered. Before the end of 1916 the country found itself facing starvation. Druzes fled to Hawran. Fatherless and motherless children strayed into the desert to be picked up by Bedouins. An eyewitness report by a professor at the American University of Beirut sums up the situation in the following words:

Those who did not flee to the interior in quest of sustenance joined the ever-increasing horde of beggars in the city. Among

the beggars were those with enough energy to roam the streets and knock at doors, ransack garbage heaps or seek carcasses. Others would lie down on the street sides, with outstretched arms, emaciated bodies and weakening voices. Still others, including infants, could speak only through their eyes. . . . By 1918 the entire lower class of society had been virtually wiped out and replaced by the middle class.

The land became a paradise for disease germs. Mosquitoes spread malaria, flies typhoid, lice typhus and rats bubonic plague. Lebanon estimatedly lost 100,000 of its 420,000 population. More would have perished but for aid from emigrants and philanthropic agencies such as the American Near East Relief. This agency continued its work through the post-war period (1916–29), specializing on Armenian refugees from Turkey in Lebanon and Syria. It is credited with having spent $100,000,000 for feeding 12,500,000, aiding 6,000,000 and educating 136,000.

The dawn of permanent relief broke when in September 1918 General Allenby, heading an Allied army from Egypt and supported by Arab troops under Faysal, son of King Husayn, swept through Palestine and opened the way for the occupation of Lebanon and Syria. On October 7 a French naval division landed in Beirut, giving France the priority claim. Two inscriptions in English and French at the gorge of the Dog River memorialize the historic occasion. Before the end of the month Faysal had entered Damascus with British troops. In April 1920 the San Remo (Italy) conference gave the mandate over Lebanon and Syria jointly to France and over Palestine and Iraq separately to Great Britain. Four months later Turkey signed the Treaty of Sèvres (France) renouncing all rights in the mandated areas and confirming their new disposition. The act of the mandate was signed two years later in London formalizing the new Franco-Lebanese relationship under the auspices of the League of Nations. Lebanese in general favoured the new

arrangement, but the Syrians insisted on immediate full independence. They took seriously President Wilson's principle of self-determination enunciated at the peace conference (Versailles, 1919) and the Franco-British declaration (November 7, 1918), on their occupation of Palestine-Lebanon-Syria, that the intention was to establish "national governments drawing their authority from the initiative and from the choice of the native population". Accordingly, a Syrian congress in Damascus installed Faysal (1920) as king and refused to acknowledge the mandate. On July 24, in a battle outside the city, French troops crushed Syrian resistance. Faysal fled to be installed by the British as king over Iraq.

The mandate was an innovation in international relationship. Credit for its origination is given to General Smuts of South Africa and President Wilson. In the act of the mandate Lebanon and Syria were acknowledged as class A and included in the same document. One high commissioner was appointed for both. The principle underlying this class was expressed in Article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations:

> Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

As a matter of fact only the United States sent a commission to ascertain the "wishes of these communities". Its report — never published officially — left no doubt about Syrian determined opposition. But in Lebanon the majority favoured a French mandate and demanded a Greater Lebanon from Tyre to Tripoli, independent of Syria.

The act of the mandate recognized in principle the independence of both Lebanon and Syria but lacked imple-

mentation for the attainment of that end. It set no specific time limit for the duration of the mandate and fixed no criteria for measuring the people's attainment of capacity for the full exercise of self-government. It left the minor at the mercy of the trustee. One article in the act abolished the capitulations. Another put French side by side with Arabic as official language but maintained Arabic as the medium of public instruction. The whole document bears the marks of hasty and careless drawing. Of its twenty articles only one, dealing — of all things — with archaeology, is analysed and subdivided into eight sections, constituting a sixth of the entire text.

What is more important than text is application. The first three high commissioners sent by France were generals with distinction in the war as a main credential. Their troops were largely Senegalese. Their aides were drawn mainly from colonial service. The only system of rule they knew was the familiar one. Not only was the new situation calling for new techniques but the country was at a new depth in its economic, social, political and spiritual affairs.

First in a series of rapidly-changing commissioners was General Henri Gouraud, hero of the Marne and victor in the battle against the Syrian army. On September 1, 1920, the high commissioner made the following oratorical historic proclamation:

> At the foot of these majestic mountains, which have been the strength of your country, and remain the impregnable stronghold of its faith and freedom; on the shore of this sea of many legends that has seen the triremes of Phoenicia, Greece and Rome and now, by a happy fate, brings you the confirmation of a great and ancient friendship and the blessings of French peace . . . I solemnly salute Grand Liban, in its glory and prosperity, in the name of the Government of the French Republic.

Thus was Greater Lebanon reborn. The area which belonged to it, geographically and historically, was reunited. The addition of al-Biqa, the coastal plain and their cities

rendered the country more viable, but created new problems. The area of the country was almost doubled. Its population, predominantly Christian, was suddenly augmented by about a half (200,000), predominantly Shiites and other Moslems on a culturally lower level. In 1913 the estimated population of the country was 414,800, of whom 329,482 were Christians (comprising 242,308 Maronites). In 1923 the population reached 628,863, of whom about 150,000 lived in Beirut, 30,000 in Tripoli and 13,000 in Sidon. What the country gained in area it lost in cohesion. The imbalance is still felt and constitutes a problem.

The mandatory had to start from scratch. Its task was no less than creating and developing administrative, legislative and judiciary agencies concerned with public safety and the execution of justice, health and education and public works. A provisional constitution for governing the new state and determining its frontiers was promulgated. Lebanon had no system of public education; one was devised, wholly limited to the elementary level. Modern codes for civil procedure were introduced. The Ottoman municipal law was replaced (1922) by one enabling about a hundred and twenty towns and villages to practise a measure of home rule. Means of communication were improved. Special care was bestowed on Beirut harbour, neglected since its construction by a French company in 1889–94.

Another new milestone was reached when on May 23, 1926, Lebanon was declared a republic. It adopted a national flag bearing the cedar. The republic received a constitution which, emended, suspended and revised, remains substantially in force. The constitution provides for an elective president and parliament. It prescribes no state religion and no religion for the head of state, but it does make parliamentary membership proportionate to the numerical strength of the different religious communities. Matters relating to personal status are left under the jurisdiction of

the religious authorities — Christian or Moslem. A tradition, however, has developed making a Maronite president of the republic, a Sunnite prime minister and a Shiite speaker of the house.

The series of presidents began with two nominated by the high commissioner. The first to be elected by the chambers was Imil Iddi (Emile Eddé, 1936–41). French control then became indirect through so-called advisers. Iddi and the high commissioner in 1936 negotiated a twenty-five-year treaty of amity and alliance acknowledging Lebanese independence, promising admission to the League of Nations but keeping foreign and military affairs in French hands. This Franco-Lebanese treaty would have marked a new milestone on the road to independence had it not failed of ratification by the chamber of deputies in Paris. Deterioration in the relations between the two countries began. Grievances were expressed louder. The measure of autonomy under the mandate, it was complained, was less than in pre-mandate days. France was more concerned in maintaining its own position than in training the people for home rule. Nationalist feeling and national leaders were suppressed. The mandatory's preoccupation was political and administrative with little regard for husbanding the resources of the land and improving its economy. A faint attempt at reviving sericulture was unsuccessful. Not enough was done to promote tourism. Currency was tied to the depreciated franc. Until Iddi's time mandated Lebanon, where France had more economic and educational interests than in Syria, had not been restless like its mandated neighbour. It was probably receiving more favourable consideration. In Syria the nationalist movement was taking long and determined strides. There, as early as July 1925, demonstrations, strikes and violence had flared up to open revolt. The revolt began among the Druzes in Hawran, spread over Syria and continued for two years. Even this did not have any repercussion in Lebanon except among Moslems in its recently

reunited southern part. Syria demanded restoration of those parts added in 1920.

But there were graver problems of greater dimensions. By 1939 clouds on the international horizon had grown thicker and darker. The world faced a second great war. On September 9 High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux suspended the Lebanese constitution, dissolved the chamber, restricted presidential power and declared martial law in both Lebanon and Syria. In the summer of the following year, when France capitulated to Germany and a collaborationist government at Vichy replaced that of Paris, Puaux and the French commander-in-chief of the entire Allied troops in the Levant declared loyalty to Vichy as against the Free French organized by General de Gaulle. De Gaulle had refused to recognize the capitulation and advocated continuing the fight. This move on the part of Puaux and the French commander imperilled the British position in Egypt, Palestine and Iraq. It further endangered the whole war effort. In June 1941 British troops, assisted by Free French units, expelled the Vichy and Axis forces and occupied Lebanon and Syria.

General Georges Catroux was de Gaulle's choice for governing the mandated territory as delegate-general and for commanding the troops of the Levant. On November 26, 1941, Catroux proclaimed in the name of his government and its ally the termination of the mandate and the "sovereignty and independence" of Lebanon and its sister Syria. Great Britain extended immediate recognition to the two republics. The United States lost no time in nominating a diplomatic agent and consul-general. With the resumption of constitutional life Lebanon in 1943 sent to the chamber deputies with pronounced nationalist leanings. The chamber elected Bisharah al-Khuri, a French-educated Maronite lawyer who had held high government positions, as president of the republic, and approved Riyad al-Sulh, a pro-Arab Sunnite

leader who had been sentenced by Jamal Pasha to "perpetual exile", as prime minister. It then proceeded to purge the constitution of all references to France as the mandatory and of all articles deemed inconsistent with the new status. Finding the Lebanese authorities unrelenting the delegate-general suspended the constitution, arrested President al-Khuri, his prime minister and other cabinet members and sent them into exile in the castle of Rashayya. He declared martial law and imposed strict censorship.

Nothing could have more infuriated the public. Riots, demonstrations and strikes spread. A wave of disgust swept through the Arab countries. Lebanese emigrants in America and other lands bombarded their governments with protests. Under pressure from within and without France yielded. On November 21, after eleven days of confinement, the exiles were returned triumphant. With the reinstatement of the legal authorities on the second day, now celebrated as a national holiday, the constitutional institutions began to function again. In the course of 1944 almost all important French powers and services were transferred to local hands. In February 1945 the republic, to qualify for membership in the proposed United Nations, declared nominal war on Germany and Japan. An engraved tablet on that rock of ages at the mouth of the river north of Beirut records:

> On December 31, 1946, the evacuation of all foreign troops from Lebanese soil was completed in the days of His Excellency al-Shaykh Bisharah al-Khuri, president of the republic.

UNDER THE CEDAR FLAG

THE communal uprisings of the mid-nineteenth century ended a two-and-half-century career of Lebanon as a feudal princedom. The first World War closed its half-century of autonomous mutasarrifiyah. The second terminated the mandate and ushered in the republic. In none of these periods did the Lebanese change the course of the history of the Near East, but in all they registered a record in its annals of progress that was distinguished if not unique.

With such a background, a tiny nascent republic with an area (3977 square miles) not much larger than Yellowstone National Park, and a population (1,000,000) exceeded by a score of cities in the United States embarked (1943) upon a career of sovereignty and independence. The path bristled with difficulties, political, social and economic, inherent in its geography, inherited from its history, resultant from the heterogeneous composition of its population and created by the new order around it. King Abdullah of Jordan clamoured for a greater Syria with himself at its head, giving Lebanon the option between "union and isolation". Iraqi political leaders worked for a Fertile Crescent state with Baghdad as its capital. Syria agitated for the restoration of parts lost to Lebanon (1920). In Lebanon itself sprang up a well-knit, disciplined, militant organization, the Syrian Popular Party, which advocated union with Syria. It was for Lebanon a case of performing on a tightrope with one element in the population gravitating Arab-ward and seeking ultimate union with its Moslem neighbours, and another element Western oriented and fearful of losing its identity and modernity in an Arab-Moslem *milieu*. The president and his prime minister worked out a formula, known as the

national covenant, demanding undivided loyalty to Lebanon, collaborating wholeheartedly with other Arabs and maintaining normal relations with the West. It was in essence a non-alignment but not non-involvement policy.

The new formula worked and the government felt free to introduce necessary reforms. It abolished exchange control, necessitated by war conditions, and imposed a low tariff for revenue purposes rather than protection of native industry. It began discarding outworn laws and modernizing its penal and commercial codes. It initiated liberal social and economic legislation, with a minimal interference with free enterprise and individual initiative. In 1946 laws were passed providing for an eight-hour labour day, maternity leave, sick leave and dismissal compensation and forbidding the employment of children under thirteen. The laws, however, were laxly executed and did not include group insurance, social security and provision for the unemployed. Both public and private efforts to protect and assist those in need, including orphaned children, the aged and physically handicapped, are even now far from adequate.

Pursuant to its national covenant Lebanon gave its neighbours all possible co-operation in their joint enterprises. It became a charter member of the League of Arab States, organized in Cairo in 1945, and has since been a most loyal and perhaps its most enthusiastic supporter. It served more than once as conciliator between members in conflict. In the United Nations its delegates argued Arab cases with unusual eloquence and effectiveness. In the 1948 war with the Zionists the country contributed its share and has since, in common with other Arab states, severed its economic relations with Israel. It extended hospitality to about a hundred thousand of those rendered homeless by the Arab-Israeli war. Coolness at times marked Syro-Lebanese friendly relations, mainly because of divergent political and economic views. Syria followed a policy of protective tariff, but Lebanon was committed to one of free enterprise and free trade.

Under a succession of military regimes political refugees from Syria found asylum in Lebanon, where they carried on anti-Syrian propaganda and agitation. Occasionally Syria closed the border and imposed economic boycott.

At the United Nations enclave and such world capitals as Washington, London and Paris, Lebanese representatives figured with increasing prominence in defence of the ideals of the free world. When the Korean war broke out (1950) the Lebanese government voted a money contribution as symbolic assistance to the United Nations. Bitterness against the United States for playing the second decisive role, after Britain's, in the creation of Israel did not halt the government from seeking and accepting American technical aid or financial loans. Projects multiplied. Beirut port was improved, its free zone enlarged and airport expanded. Highways were renovated. The most ambitious project in the modern history of the country, that of al-Litani, was launched with the aid of American dollars in 1951. This river is the largest in the country. It is an all-Lebanon river. Rising near Baalbak, it bisects al-Biqa north to south and debouches in the Mediterranean between Tyre and Sidon. The project aimed at the development of this river as a source of water supply and electric power. It required the construction of dams and digging an east-to-west tunnel through the western mountain. When completed, in twenty-five years, it is expected to increase the total irrigated area of the country by two-fifths, aside from providing electric light to its entire south. By the end of 1963 a total of $58,190,000 had been spent on it.

Early in the 1950s the Khuri regime, which in 1943 was inaugurated with an unparalleled outburst of popular acclaim, began to show signs of weakness on a new front, the personal one. Charges of favouritism, nepotism, corruption and laxity in the administration and execution of justice were mounting. Reiterated protests went heedless. Opposition parties coalesced. They sponsored public demonstrations and a city-wide strike. From Beirut the strike spread to other

towns. The president called on the army to stop it by force and restore public order. Commander-in-chief General Fuad Shihab refused, maintaining that the primary function of the army was defence against a foreign enemy and not fighting its own countrymen. The prime minister resigned and was followed by other cabinet members. None called upon would accept the responsibility of forming a new ministry. President al-Khuri had to bow to the people's will. His resignation was offered September 18, 1952, and Kamil Shamun (Shimʿun, Camille Chamoun), a leader of the opposition, was elected five days later by the chamber. Thus within the framework of constitutional processes an unusual change in government was peacefully effected — a rather rare phenomenon in the area.

Like his predecessor, Shamun was a French-schooled Maronite lawyer. He had held several portfolios and represented his country at the United Nations and the Court of St. James. The opposition he led had promised much by way of bringing before the bar of justice officials and officials' relatives at whom the public was pointing fingers of accusation, and of introducing administrative, judicial and fiscal reforms. But an aspirant to an office is one thing and its occupant another. In general the new regime followed the same principles and procedures. Official morality did not rise higher. Social legislation was featured by granting women the right to vote (1953), an unprecedented development in the Arab region. A proposal to abolish confessionalism, by which deputies were elected by suffrage based on proportional representation of the religious groups in the districts, was considered premature. An earlier attempt (1951) by the legal profession to dissuade the government from restoring to the clergy jurisdiction over personal status cases, a right that had been denied them by the mandate, was equally unsuccessful.

By now a middle class, accounting for almost half the

population and comprising the highest educated, had begun to occupy a dominant position in the economic and social structure and in political life. The class consisted of members of the liberal professions (lawyers, journalists, teachers, physicians), urban real-estate proprietors, small landowner-farmers, small traders and industrialists and salaried employees of government and business. Not so conscious as before of its financial and technical incompetence *vis-à-vis* its citizens, the government, while refraining from undue interference, did in 1951 nationalize the water company of Beirut and has since nationalized most water supply and electricity companies.

Two distinctive sources of Lebanese national revenue, tourism and transit trade, rapidly increased in volume. From 89,412 tourists (excluding Syrians and transit passengers) in 1951 the number rose in 1960 to 236,082. For long the mountain had been a favourite summer resort, but now it became also a winter playground, providing a vacation land in both seasons. Not even in Switzerland, its people boast, can one swim in the sea and ski on the heights the same day. Of the seven skiing centres, that near the large cedar grove offers the greatest attraction and facilities. Here at a distance of 90 miles from the capital city and an elevation of 6390 feet above the sea, lovers of winter sports can take a chairlift to the summit, 9900 feet high, enjoy an awe-inspiring view and start their descent to near the celebrated patriarchs of the Lebanese forest.

A round of revolutions in adjacent countries drove not only refugees into Lebanon but also capital for bank or real-estate investments. In the Suez crisis of 1956 many Europeans and Americans, fleeing Israel and Egypt, found a haven in Lebanon. Its banks swelled with the fugitives' money (from Syria and Egypt as well after the merger of these two countries two years later). The law of bank secrecy, which put numbered accounts on a strictly confidential basis,

further encouraged foreign investment. Beirut in 1963 was the home of thirty-three banks of which fifteen were foreign.

The fabulous oil boom in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the Persian Gulf shaykhdoms added to the influx of those seeking the mountain as a summer resort. To the desert-bred its sun rays seemed especially mild, its breezes caressing and its water springs icy and crystal clear. The capital city offered opportunities for personal expenditure, bank deposits and real-estate investment that their cities did not. Hotel accommodations, night-club entertainments, restaurants, medical services could not be duplicated anywhere in the region. If for the oil-rich, free-spending desert shaykhs the country served as an oasis providing relaxation and gaiety, for those interested in intellectual pursuits there were the numerous publications, bookstores and institutions of learning. Phoenician sites in Byblus, Sidon and Tyre, Roman ruins in Baalbak and Crusading relics all along the coast offered archaeological material for study. Summer festivities inside the Roman temple ruins of Baalbak, featuring folk dances and songs as well as orchestral and dramatic presentations by European artists and actors, combine *Arabian Nights'* and Paris nights' scenes.

Transit included petroleum. To the pipe-lines bringing oil from Iraq to Tripoli was added in 1950 one bringing it from Saudi Arabia to Sidon. The American company owner of the Sidon line paid for transit rights as well as for protection. It built refineries, that have since been enlarged, agreed to pay export tax and to offer the government a certain quantity of its product at a reduced price. Tripoli also had its refinery.

With transit trade went export and import. Difficult-to-believe stories spread about Beiruti entrepreneurs and commission agents in modest offices directing and financing such transactions as transfer of gold from Mexico to India and China, or shipments of copper from Spain to Russia. Lebanese emigrants were ready to oblige. It was said that in 1951

no less than 30 per cent of the world gold traffic passed through the city. The principal domestic exports were oranges, apples, pears and bananas. The principal imports were machinery, motor vehicles, steel and iron, textiles and food products. Transit trade was stimulated by an expanded free zone in the capital city and an international airport that could accommodate the largest jets and was utilized by thirty-seven companies.

Contrary to the prevailing economic pattern in the region, Lebanese did not make their living from agriculture but from services rendered largely to non-Lebanese. Only 18 per cent of the gross national income of $585,000,000 in 1961 was earned by agriculture, and 12 per cent by industry. Income from services meets the deficit accruing from the discrepancy between the import of goods, valued at about 50 per cent of the national income, and the commodity exports, valued at only a seventh of the commodity imports. This dependence on services makes the country's economy vulnerable, subject to political and economic crises.

In both fields of agriculture and industry the change in the post-war period was substantial. Agriculture became mainly fruit farming, featuring oranges and lemons, apples, grapes, olives and figs. Cereals, led by wheat and barley, suffered in consequence but were partly compensated by modernization. The mulberry trees, however, were almost entirely wiped out. Sericulture has also almost completely disappeared, as a result of the import of nylon and artificial silk. The culture of vegetables has expanded at the expense of mulberry and olive trees. Lebanese fruits and vegetables found expanding markets in Egypt and Arabia. Terraced farms and orchards are today staggered close to the mountain spine, putting almost every arable foot under cultivation. Especially successful has been the cultivation of the apple trees, a variety of which has been introduced from the United States. The apple fruit figured prominently on the 1963 stamp issue.

Industry developed, but hardly beyond the stage of infancy. Hampered by lack of raw materials, paucity of capital and shortage of technical skills, it is still predominantly of the light variety featured by food processing. Cement is the only heavy variety introduced and successfully developed. Textile manufacture of cotton, wool and silk has been the largest single item. Tanning, processing of oil and other food products, manufacture of wood articles, alcohol, soap and soft drinks come next.

While the country's economy continued to flourish during the Shamun regime, its politics began in 1956 to face grave difficulties. A fresh outburst of Arab nationalism and urge for unity, accompanied by a repulsion from the West, put Lebanon before a serious dilemma. In the autumn of that year when its neighbouring Arab states broke off diplomatic relations with France and Britain, because of their joint attack with Israel on Egypt, Lebanon did not. In the following year it readily accepted the so-called Eisenhower doctrine, while its neighbours rejected it. In essence the doctrine offered military and financial aid to Near Eastern countries co-operating in opposing communist influence. The rift became wider. Foreign Minister Charles Malik, former professor at the American University of Beirut and future president of the United Nations general assembly, was steadfast in his condemnation of communist ideology and practices and in his assertion of Lebanon's right of independent action. Shamun was viewed as a symbol of his country's sovereignty as Nasser (Abd-al-Nasir) developed into the hero of Arabism and the champion of neutrality. Nasser gained a substantial following among Lebanese. The merger of Syria and Egypt in February 1958 into the United Arab Republic brought the conflict to a climax.

President Shamun's handling of political opponents was not exactly with silk gloves. Opposition to him snowballed. Malcontents—political, religious and economic—, including

ex-prime ministers and cabinet members, joined the ranks. Riots, strikes and other disturbances began in May and acquired momentum as financial and military aid flowed from outside. The government complained to the League of Arab States and the United Nations of interference by the United Arab Republic. It was losing its hold on a country in chaotic condition. In desperation Shamun on July 14 appealed to President Eisenhower for military support to maintain the integrity and sovereignty of the country. That was the day a military *coup* in Iraq destroyed the monarchy and replaced it with a revolutionary republic. Ten thousand American marines landed on the beach south of Beirut. The United States had, of course, its own interests to protect. On the last day of July the chamber of deputies elected Fuad Shihab (Chehab), commander-in-chief of the army, as third president of the republic. On the expiration of Shamun's term, September 23, Shihab assumed office and requested the withdrawal of the marines, which was completed by the end of October.

The new chief executive was agreeable to both sides involved in the conflict. A soldier by profession and aristocrat by descent, Shihab set up a coalition cabinet and veered enough toward non-alignment in foreign relations to restore equilibrium. The shift was in the interests of Arab solidarity and national unity. The abortive *coup* of December 31, 1961, by a right-wing group headed by the Syrian Popular Party was unrelated to the 1958 insurrection. In domestic policy, however, Shihab maintained constitutional procedure. The general-president was even less assertive than his two lawyer predecessors. The people turned their back on the worst crisis in their republic's history and, under the motto "no victor, no vanquished", resumed their forward march.

The dip in the country's economy caused by the 1958 conflict was before long rectified. The *per capita* income two years later was estimated at $370, almost twice that of any

other country in the area; it bore favourable comparison with eastern and southern European countries. By that time the Point Four aid, begun in 1953, had been terminated and Lebanon's name struck off the United Nations' list of undeveloped countries. But it should be added, 4 per cent of the population received 30 per cent of the national income, creating a serious inequality in the distribution of wealth. The government has made no serious attempt to siphon this over-accumulated wealth in the hands of the few for promoting the welfare of the bottom class. It did, however, approve (1961) a five-year development plan calling for an expenditure of some fifteen million Lebanese pounds on irrigation, drinking water, roads, electricity and other needs primarily relating to non-urban areas. Those areas have been generally neglected except where serving as summer resorts. The development plan was, moreover, calculated to reduce the vulnerability of the country's economy. Economic prosperity, coupled with improved sanitary conditions, was reflected in population increase. In 1962 it rose to a new high of 1,700,000 of whom about 450,000 lived in Beirut, 115,000 in Tripoli, 40,000 in Zahlah, and 25,000 in Sidon. This gave the square mile 400, rather high relative to the country's national resources. The increase is still going at the rate of 2·5 per cent annually. It raises a serious problem for the future.

Social legislation lagged behind. It lacked public support. A new class of Beiruti *noveaux riches* arose, which lived in luxury, paid relatively little by way of government taxes and less by way of social welfare. They generally recognized that charity begins at home but ended it there. "Neighbour" did not carry the meaning given it in the Good Samaritan parable. Earlier generations lavished their bounties on churches and mosques. Witness the vast, extensive estates called wakfs. The government, however, promulgated in the autumn of 1963 an extensive social security plan that

marks a new stage in social consciousness. The scheme provides health and maternity insurance, insurance against industrial accidents and sickness arising from vocations and end-of-service compensation.

The high level of economic attainment was naturally predicated on a high level of education. Illiteracy was by now reduced to about 10 per hundred — an unequalled low in western Asia. Until 1949 primary education was almost completely in private hands, local or foreign. Secondary and higher education is still mostly in non-governmental institutions. In 1951 the Lebanese University was founded as an impromptu act, prompted by the existence of new buildings erected for a UNESCO meeting at Beirut. Starting with two faculties of letters and sciences, the University has since added a teachers' college, a law school and an institute of social studies. It has plans for a school of journalism.

This and the foreign universities of Beiruit which attract students from as far as Pakistan and Sudan, have made of Lebanon a "centre of intellectual radiation". The press has contributed its share. In 1963 there were 29 dailies (of which 3 were French, 2 English, 2 Armenian), 1 twice-weekly (French), 21 weeklies (of which 5 were French, 2 English, 1 Armenian) and 10 monthlies (including 3 French, 1 English). Perhaps no other city can match this record. Certain Arabic papers are for hire by the highest bidder, creating serious problems for the government with neighbouring authoritarian governments which exercise strict censorship on publications under their control. This forced the Lebanese authorities to impose certain restrictions on published material, especially as it relates to the heads of other states. Statistics released January 1, 1963, made the number of foreigners in the country 361,811, of whom the largest number (142,240) were Palestinians. Among Westerners the Americans (4522) lead. In 1954 when the future Pope John XXIII visited the city, a simultaneous celebration

of the mass was held in six rites: Latin, Maronite, Armenian, Syrian, Chaldean and Melkite, involving seven different languages.

The cosmopolitan capital city claims over a fourth of the country's entire population including a major part of European, American and other foreigners. The concentration in it of material and intellectual resources makes of Lebanon almost a city-state. It raises the city to a position of leadership among the metropolises of the Near East. Through it as a funnel flow most of the passengers and commercial traffic east- or west-bound.

Lebanese intellectuals who, as noted before, were instrumental in introducing modern nationalism have played no prominent part in promoting Arab political unity, especially since Arabism became tinged with Islamism. Non-Lebanese intellectuals made unity the starting-point, considering it essential for progress under security. It thus became the preoccupation of political leaders in neighbouring countries, none of which fully possessed unity within itself. In Lebanon the preferred approach was through domestic reforms and through joint co-operative economies, social and educational efforts under the League of Arab States. Problems of intra-Arab communication and transport, cultural exchange, education, sanitation, passports and visas, currency, postage were given priority on the Lebanese list of problems to be solved. This divergence in the political viewpoints reflected a deeper cultural divergence.

In September 1964 President Shihab's term of office expired. Upon his refusal to accept renewal, which involved amending the constitution, the chamber of deputies turned to the minister of education, Charles Hulu (Helou), and elected him as his successor. The new president graduated in law from St. Joseph University in Beirut and served as ambassador to the Vatican.

The measure of progress achieved by the tiny twenty-year-old republic under the cedar flag may seem minimal and snail-paced in an age of atomic power and jet propulsion, but not if the adverse circumstances are adequately considered. The republic has been one, in name and in fact. It has maintained democracy in an inhospitable environment and upheld constitutional rule, while military and authoritarian regimes became fashionable. The Lebanese community has evolved from a static state based on "soil and blood" (agriculture and kinship) to one, mobile and dynamic, based on trade and services. With the collaboration of its overseas segment, it has begun to participate in world culture. Its businessmen have operated under a free enterprise system and exchanged commodities between East and West, as its enlightened men exchanged intellectual products. The country's standard of living has risen to an enviable high and so has its rate of literacy. Its religious elements have worked out techniques for Christian-Moslem co-operation in politics and other phases of life, techniques which could be used on a wider scale in other countries of the Arab world, and perhaps in solving the international problem of reconciling Near Eastern and Western European ways of life, including co-existence between modern Islam and Christianity.

Such a record in the past holds the promise of further contributions in the future, provided it deserves the sympathetic appreciation of other like-minded peoples of the world.

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PRINTED BY R. & R. CLARK, LTD., EDINBURGH